STVDIA ISLAMICA

COLLEGERVNT

R. BRVNSCHVIG J. SCHACHT

XI

E. CERULLI. — *Avicenne et Laurent de Médicis à propos d'un passage de l'« Altercazione »* 5

G. VAJDA. — *A propos de la perpétuité de la rétribution d'outre-tombe en théologie musulmane* 29

M. F. GHAZI. — *Un groupe social : « Les Raffinés »* 39

S. K. YETKIN. — *The evolution of architectural form in Turkish Mosques (1300-1700)* 73

A. KARAHAN. — *Fuẓûlî, poète en trois langues* 93

A. JEFFERY. — *Ibn Al-'Arabī's Shajarat Al-Kawn (Concluded)*.. 113

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AVICENNE ET LAURENT DE MÉDICIS A PROPOS D'UN PASSAGE DE L' « ALTERCAZIONE »

Laurent de Médicis, le Magnifique, qu'on peut appeler sans hésitation le protagoniste de la Renaissance à Florence, fut, dans son pays, souverain sans titre princier ; poète et homme de lettres et en même temps *(rara avis)* ami fidèle des poètes et des hommes de lettres ; doué d'un goût artistique raffiné et éminemment aristocratique, mais aussi se plaisant au jeu de transposer dans son art modes, formes et arguments d'inspiration populaire, sans aucune moue de dédain, mais à peine avec un petit clignement malicieux de l'œil. On a voulu le dire un dilettante dans le domaine de l'art, ce qui n'est pas juste. Sa forte personnalité est unitaire ; et sa poésie, qui a des points de départ si disparates et se tient toutefois sur pied, sans excès et sans envolées, a le même sens de la mesure que sa notion pratique de l'équilibre politique en Italie, assurant la paix sans passions héroïques ni oppression dominatrice.

Or, Laurent de Médicis, patron de l'Académie Platonique de Florence, a écrit aussi de philosophie : en prose dans son *Comento sopra alcuni de' suoi sonetti* et en vers dans le poème *L'Altercazione*. On se tromperait en le considérant comme un penseur original, mais plutôt ses deux écrits nous donnent un aperçu valable des questions qui étaient discutées dans les milieux cultivés de Florence autour du fondateur de l'Académie, Marsile Ficin. Marsile lui-même,

> nel quale il cielo ogni sua grazia infuse
> perch'ei fusse al mortal sempre uno specchio (1),

(1) Le texte de Laurent est cité ici selon l'édition critique (dans la collection *Scrittori d'Italia*) par Attilio Simoni : LORENZO DE' MEDICI IL MAGNIFICO, *Opere*, Bari 1914, vol. II, p. 42.

est le personnage principal de l'*Altercazione*, où il expose, en 5 *capitoli* (suivis d'un sixième *capitolo* de : 'Prière à Dieu'), sa doctrine sur l'amour selon la philosophie platonicienne. Le quatrième *capitolo* est dédié à la notion de la béatitude suprême qui est la fin dernière de l'amour. L'âme humaine s'élève par la contemplation des 'natures' supérieures :

Ma doppio è il contemplar della nostr' alma ;
l'angelica natura e la divina.
La prima non ne dà quiete o calma,

parce que la volonté de l'homme est mue, par l'amour, de cause en cause jusqu'à la Cause Première, où seulement elle peut s'arrêter :

Tutto quiesce nella causa propia :
Questa è Iddio. Adunque Dio è quello,
non l'Angiol, che ne dà di tal ben copia ;
benchè Avicenna, Ispano ed Alcazello
fermassin nella prima il ben supremo,
il vero bene è Dio formoso e bello (1).

Donc, selon Laurent de Médicis, trois philosophes : Avicenne, al-Ghazālī et Pierre Hispanus auraient dit que la béatitude suprême s'arrête, pour l'homme, dans la contemplation de la 'nature' angélique.

* * *

Quelle est la source de ce passage de l'*Altercazione?* Marsile Ficin, 'il novel Plato' (2) qui dit ces vers dans le poème de Laurent, avait examiné le problème des 'beatitudinis gradus' dans son *Commentarium in Convivium Platonis de Amore.* Le quinzième chapitre de l'Oratio sexta du Commentarium pose la question : « Supra corpus est anima, super animam angelus, super angelum Deus » (3) ; et les trois chapitres successifs nous donnent la solution, selon Marsile, du problème, qu'on peut résumer dans ces propositions : « Ea [sc. angeli

(1) *Opere*, éd. cit. vol. II, p. 55.
(2) *Opere*, éd. cit. vol. II, p. 47.
(3) Marsile Ficin, *Commentaire sur le Banquet de Platon*, éd. Raymond Marcel, Paris 1956, p. 230.

pulchritudo] corporum spetiem antecellit, quia neque loco astringitur neque secundum materie partes dividitur neque corrumpitur. Antecellit et animi spetiem, quia eterna est penitus neque temporali discursione movetur. Quoniam vero angeli lux in idearum complurium serie micat ac supra multitudinem omnem unitas sit oportet, que est numeri totius origo : necesse est eam ab Uno rerum omnium Principio, quod ipsum Unum vocamus effluere. Ipsius itaque unius lux penitus simplicissima infinita pulchritudo est, quia nec materie sordibus inquinatur, ut corporis speties neque ut animi forma temporali progressione mutatur neque ut angeli speties multitudine dissipatur» (1). La conséquence de cela est que « Deum solum amabimus », car enfin « si corpora, si animos, si angelos diligemus, non ista quidem sed Deum in istis amabimus ». L'échelle par laquelle l'amour platonique monte du corps à Dieu passe par les anges, mais ne s'y arrête pas.

Remarquons ici deux faits importants pour notre recherche : D'abord Marsile Ficin dans le passage que nous venons de citer règle l'élévation de l'amour sur l'aspiration à l'unité. La montée sur l'échelle amoureuse commence de la pluralité 'âme+corps' et arrive à l'Un suprême. Dans les vers de l'*Altercazione*, que nous avons examinés, Laurent de Médicis compare l'ascension par l'amour plutôt à un procès logique de recherche successive de la cause :

> Nostro intelletto per natura inclina
> ricercar d'ogni cosa la sua causa ;
> d'una in altra cagion sempre cammina.
> E mai non ha quiete alcuna o pausa
> fin che d'ogni cagion la causa trova,
> ch'è nell'arcan di Dio serrata e clausa (2).

L'interruption de la montée à la 'nature' angélique est donc réfutée différemment : Marsile ne l'accepterait pas parce que, si l'ange « in idearum complurium serie micat », il faut encore progresser en haut et dépasser cette multiplicité idéale (dans le sens platonique) : « Tolle postremo diversarum illum numerum

(1) Marsile Ficin, *Commentaire*, éd. cit., p. 238.
(2) *Opere*, éd. cit., vol. II, p. 55.

idearum, unam simplicem ac meram relinque lucem » et tu auras rejoint l'Un, « fons totius amoris ». Et, d'autre part, selon Laurent de Médicis le stade angélique affirmé par Avicenne et al-Ghazālī ne peut pas être un arrêt parce que

Tutto quiesce nella causa propria (1) ;

et donc il ne peut pas être « quiete o calma » dans une cause intermédiaire telle que « l'angelica natura ». (2)

Il faut encore noter que seul Laurent cite Avicenne et al-Ghazālī, que Marsile Ficin ignore dans son *Commentarium*. Du *Commentarium* nous avons maintenant le manuscrit original de Marsile, qui a été identifié par Raymond Marcel dans le Vaticanus Latinus 7705. Cet original est daté de juillet 1469 ; et Marsile a complété et corrigé son texte jusqu'à la rédaction définitive qui est à dater, au plus tard, de 1482.

Mais ni dans le texte édité par R. Marcel ni dans les éditions anciennes des *Opera Omnia* de Ficin (Basileae 1576 ; Parisiis 1641) (3) on ne trouve la citation des deux philosophes arabes que Laurent de Médicis a insérée dans son poème.

Il faut aussi remarquer ici que Marsile Ficin, dans sa longue et détaillée *Confutatio Averrois* contre la doctrine averroïste de l'intelligence unique, s'appuie explicitement sur la formule

(1) *Opere*, éd. cit., *ibidem*.

(2) La démonstration 'logique', que Laurent fait ici de son point de vue sur la 'nature angélique', ne doit pas nous faire oublier que sur le fond du problème de la connaissance de Dieu par l'amour il suit Marsile Ficin en donnant aussi à ses idées une formulation très audacieuse :

E che più l'alma amando in vita acquista
la divina Bontà, che inquirendo...
Amor del Paradiso apre le porte,
Nè la nostr' alma amando giammai erra ;
Ma il ricercarlo spesso induce morte...
L'anima che a conoscer Dio è intenta
in lungo tempo fa poco profitto.
Quella che l'ama è presto assai contenta.

(*Altercazione*, IV, 104-105 ; 118-121 ; 134-136). Cfr. maintenant, sur cette question de l'opposition de l'intelligence à l'amour chez Laurent de Médicis, E. WIND, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, London 1958, p. 59 (et la bibliographie citée par Wind).

(3) Dans l'édition de Bâle de 1576 des *Opera Omnia* les passages de l'*Oratio sexta*, que nous avons cité, sont dans le vol. II p. 1352-1354 ; et dans l'édition de Paris de 1641 dans le vol. I p. 313-314.

d'Avicenne relative à l'intelligence angélique, intermédiaire entre l'intelligence individuelle de l'homme et la Divinité :

« Avicenna Theologorum Arabum princeps et Algazeles, mediam viam secuti, mentem asseruerunt formam quidem corporis esse, non corporalem, ut inter formas quae corporis corporalesque sunt atque formas quae neque corporales sunt neque corporis tamquam maxime differentes, mediae quaedam formae sint, partim cum illis, partim cum his quodammodo congruentes... Denique non abs re, inter sensum qui in forma corporis est et indiget instrumento atque intellectum angelicum qui est utrimque liber, intellectus est humanus qui forma quidem corporis est sed nullo indiget corporis instrumento. ... Quae quidem sententia et communi hominum iudicio probabilior est et libris Platonis, Theophrasti et Themisii maxime consona..... Averroem deinceps viribus reprobantes, Avicennae et Algazelis interpretationem, immo Platonis Aristotelisque sententiam comprobavimus » (1).

Et il résume enfin sa position sur ce problème par cette proposition : « Deus esse possidet a se, in se atque pro se. Angelus non a se quoniam a Deo, sed in se atque pro se. Forma corporis qualis rationalis est anima neque a se habet esse quoniam fit ab alio ; neque pro se ipsa tantum esse suum servat quia ipsum communicavit corpori ; esse tamen habet in se quia suum esse in eiusdem fundatur essentia suaeque essentiae actus est proprius » (2).

Ainsi la doctrine avicennienne de l'intelligence angélique est

(1) *Theologia Platonica de Immortalitate animarum*, liv. XV, c. II (*Opera omnia*, éd. Paris 1641, vol. II, p. 323.

(2) *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 326. Marsile décrira encore l'intervention de la puissance divine en faveur de l'ascension de l'âme humaine par une comparaison avec la situation analogue des Anges : (*Theologia Platonica*, lib. XVIII, cap. VIII, éd. Paris, cit. vol. II, p. 402) « Quandoquidem neque ipsae angelicae mentes illuc virtute quadam perveniunt naturali, sed divina potius et (ut ita dicam) supernaturali trahuntur. Opus autem quod supernaturali virtute peragitur, propter naturarum diversitatem, impediri non potest, quippe cum immensae potentiae Dei nihil alicubi reluctetur... Quod si finitum additum infinito nullam (ut apparet) affert varietatem, quidnam prohibet ipsam Dei virtutem quae spacium ad Angelum usque subito percurrit immenso, mox ille pusillum inter Angelum animamque complecti ut simul tam anima quam Angelus rapiatur » ; où il faut noter la distance entre Dieu et l'Ange ici appellée « spacium immensum », tandis que la distance entre l'Ange et l'âme humaine est « spacium pusillum ».

acceptée par Marsile Ficin, mais aussi la progression : intelligence humaine individuelle ; intelligence angélique ; Intelligence divine (1). D'où vient donc l'idée de Laurent de Médicis qu'Avicenne s'arrêtait dans les *gradus beatitudinis* à la deuxième étape : l'Ange, comme nous avons vu ?

*
* *

Déblayons encore le terrain d'une autre hypothèse qui se présente à première vue : la citation d'Avicenne et d'al-Ghazālī dérive-t-elle du troisième philosophe nommé par Laurent de Médicis avec les deux Arabes, « Ispano », c'est-à-dire : Petrus Hispanus, Pierre d'Espagne, qui fut pape sous le nom de Jean XXI ?

Pierre d'Espagne définit l'Amour : « Amor est delectabilis et desiderabilis rei comprehense ae distantis appetitus connexio. Unde in rebus dicitur vis unificans suprema summis, infima summis et infima ad invicem » (2). L'Amour est donc la *vis* qui cause l'ascension des âmes humaines vers le but suprême : « Summe bonitatis a qua trahit ortum huic anima desiderium est innatum quippe cum ad existentiam producta et decoris eius dono dotata in noticiam et dilectionem eius naturaliter elevatur ; nec mirum cum naturalia animalia naturali ductu suorum

(1) Marsile Ficin est encore revenu sur cette question dans son traité : *In Dionysium Areopagitam, De divinis nominibus, Commentarium, op. cit.*, vol. I. Il cite d'abord l'opinion de Jamblique (*op. cit.* p. 36) « Sua tamen proportione servata Jamblichus Platonicus probat animas non solum per Angelos sed etiam per se nonnumquam ad gradum aequalem Angelis, Deo videlicet ductas, ascendere posse » ; et il explique sa position, là où il parle des forces « mundano superiores » dans ces termes : « Superiores item mundo sunt geminae, aliae quidem intellectuales humanaeque, aliae autem angelicae sunt atque divinae. Mundanis intellectuales praesunt, intellectualibus autem angelicae, tandem amor ipse divinus. Hic autem in ipsa Primi Boni luce penes se micante mirabiliter intus accensus, mox quasi foras emicat, variosque per varia spirat amores. Omnia denique passim amantia, in forma quavis amanda, Primum consequenter amant, formarumque amorumque omnium principium et finem » (*op. cit.* vol. I, p. 50).

(2) Pedro Hispano, *Scientia libri de anima*, éd. P. Manuel Alonso, Madrid 1941, p. 513 ; et ailleurs : « Amor est unificans infinita finitis et finita infinitis et infima ad invicem » (*Obras filosóficas*. II. *Comentario al De Anima de Aristóteles*, éd. P. Manuel Alonso, Madrid 1944, p. 459). Cette définition dérive du Pseudo-Denys Aréopagite, cité par Pierre d'Espagne lui-même dans le *Comentario*. (Cfr. l'édition par le P. M. Alonso *loc. cit.* note 1).

originum principia recognoscant et ad ipsa innato affectu moveantur.....dilectio summe bonitatis insurgit ex creaturarum dulcedine ad summam iucunditatem perducente et ex immediato eius amplexu ; et sicut prima notitia certior, sic prima dilectio est perfectior. In eius igitur contemplatione perficitur(1) » Donc, deux voies d'action de l'Amour : l'une qui part de la 'douceur des créatures', de la beauté terrestre pour s'élever au Bien suprême ; l'autre qui est l'attraction immédiate du Bien suprême sur l'âme de l'homme. Le but suprême, toutefois, ne peut être atteint — selon ce système de Pierre d'Espagne — que par l'âme libérée du corps : « In statu igitur inferioris aspectus formas impressas in thesauris inferiorum virtutum respicit, in hoc vero superiori formarum ab intelligentia emanantium inspectione perficitur. Sed in coniunctione corporis et accidentium eius hunc statum liberum non attingit. Post separationem igitur intelligentie iungitur et in ea apprehensionis decorem et delectationem perpetuam consequitur et maxime in Prime Intelligentie aspectu eius perfectio consummatur » (2). Le but de l'Amour pour l'âme humaine est donc, l'Intelligence Première (3), l'Ange Premier des Avicenniens.

Pierre d'Espagne a suivi ainsi réellement la doctrine d'Avicenne sur l'arrêt de l'Amour ascendant à l'étape de la « nature angélique », telle que dans ses vers la lui attribuera Laurent de Médicis. Ici peut-être ne faudrait-il pas oublier l'hypothèse du P. João Ferreira (4), qui explique la rareté extrême des manuscrits des œuvres de Pierre d'Espagne (à l'exception des

(1) *Scientia libri de anima*, cit., p. 507-508.

(2) *Scientia libri de anima*, cit., p. 450.

(3) L'unicité de la Première Intelligence est affirmée explicitement dans le *Comentario al De Anima*, cit. p. 530 : « Alii posuerunt unum solum motorem celorum et ipsum posuerunt unum separatum quod est causa omnium extra, immobile per se et accidens a nullo dependens, quod est principium motus et mutationis omnium et hoc est Principium Primum cuius nomen est excelsum et gloriosum et benedictum ». L'attribution du *Comentario* à Pierre d'Espagne, toutefois, reste douteuse selon E. Gilson (*History of the Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, London 1954, p. 681, n. 43).

(4) João Ferreira, *Introdução ao estudo do Liber de Anima de Pedro Hispano* in *Revista Filosófica*, III, Coimbra 1954, p. 1-22.

Summulae logicales) par la méfiance envers l'Avicennisme (1) trop prononcé de Pierre d'Espagne en relation aux conditions des milieux universitaires de Paris aux alentours de 1270, et particulièrement au décret célèbre de 1277 d'Étienne Templier. Ajoutons encore que lorsque Pierre d'Espagne fut devenu, entre temps, Pape (Jean XXI), ni lui ni les milieux contraires aux arabisants n'avaient de raisons de désirer beaucoup la diffusion de ses doctrines d'autrefois qui auraient pu être invoquées, avec l'autorité de sa charge pontificale, dans les débats alors en cours.

* * *

Après avoir ainsi vérifié l'exactitude de la citation de Pierre d'Espagne par Laurent de Médicis, il nous faut souligner qu'à juste titre également Laurent a nommé dans ses vers Avicenne et al-Ghazālī.

La doctrine cosmogonique d'Avicenne, où le néo-platonisme se superpose à l'aristotélisme dont est toutefois conservé en partie la terminologie, chez le philospohe musulman, est assez bien connue. De l'Un, qui ne peut être qu'Un et qui est le seul Nécessaire en soi, dérive — par la connaissance de l'Unité par l'Unité — le Premier créé, qui donc dérive sa nécessité de la nécessité de l'Un suprême. On a ainsi — par actes successifs de connaissance qui sont des créations — une série descendante d'Intelligences séparées, jusqu'à arriver à notre monde sublunaire. L'Intelligence agente régit ce monde sublunaire, étant la plus proche de nous parmi ces dérivations descendantes.

Or l'âme humaine, en tant qu'unie au corps, ne peut pendant la vie que préparer, dans la voie de la perfection, l'intelligence humaine à se rapprocher de l'Intelligence agente jusqu'à l'union future avec elle. Cette union, qui est la béatitude suprême,

(1) Les Occidentaux connaissaient cette doctrine d'Avicenne par la traduction latine de la partie métaphysique d'*Aš-Šifā'* (' Sufficientia ') et particulièrement par les chapitres V-VII du livre IX *Metaphysica:* ' De ordinatione esse Intelligentie et animarum celestium et corporum superiorum a Primo ' (éd. Venezia 1508, f. 104 *v*-105 *r*) e 'De permissione divina' (*ibidem*, f. 106 *v*-107 *v*). Les textes arabes correspondants, que les Occidentaux, toutefois, ignoraient, sont dans l'édition de Téhéran, 1303-1305 Eg. vol. II, p. 628-635.

pourra être atteinte après la mort, lorsque l'âme quittera le corps et sera libérée des images sensibles (1). Puisque la terminologie avicennienne employait pour désigner les Intelligences séparées le mot « Anges » (2), la béatitude selon Avicenne pouvait être verbalement identifiée par les Occidentaux avec cette union à la « natura angelica », dont Laurent de Médicis a parlé.

* * *

La citation d'al-Ghazālī est en réalité un double de celle d'Avicenne, parce que nous savons bien qu'au Moyen Age latin le résumé fidèle de la philosophie avicennienne fait par al-Ghazālī en vue de polémiquer avec le système d'Avicenne a été pris, par une curieuse erreur, comme l'exposé de la doctrine d'al-Ghazālī lui-même (3). Et les Occidentaux pouvaient donc lire dans leur traduction de la Métaphysique d'al-Ghazālī juste-

(1) Cette doctrine d'Avicenne est une adaptation progressive de la doctrine d'Al-Farābī ; ce qui pouvait être encore apprécié en Occident où on lisait dans la traduction latine du traité *De intellectu et intellecto* d'Al-Farābī : « Et sic substantia animae hominis vel homo cum eo per quod substanciatur fit propinquius ad Intelligenciam Agentem et hic est finis ultimus et vita alia, scilicet quia ad ultimum acquiritur homini quiddem per quod substanciatur et acquiritur perfeccio eius ultima, quod est ut agat in alteram aliam accionem per quam substanciatur, et hec est intencio de vita alia » (édité par E. GILSON, *Les sources gréco-arabes de l'Augustinisme Avicennisant* dans *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age*, IV, 1929, p. 123. Pour ce passage, cfr. aussi mon *Libro della Scala e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Commedia*, 1949, p. 434).

(2) Cfr. A. M. GOICHON, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sinā (Avicenne)*, Paris 1938, p. 383-384 s. v. *Malak*, où deux passages typiques d'Avicenne sont cités ; le premier (*Ziyāra*, début, 33) الملائكة المقربون المسمون عند الحكماء بالعقول الفعالة (et il faut remarquer ici comment cette équivalence du langage philosophique avec le langage des théologiens correspond à l'idée que depuis Roger Bacon et Guillaume d'Auvergne les Occidentaux s'étaient faite du 'sens caché' du langage avicennien) ; le deuxième passage (*Iṯbāt an-nubuwāt*, 128) قيل ان الافلاك احياء ناطقة لاتموت والحي الناطق الغير الميت يسمى ملكا فافلاك تسمى ملائكة (où les sphères célestes et leurs Intelligences, dans le sens de la cosmogonie avicennienne, sont dites : 'Anges' ouvertement).

(3) Cfr. D. SALMAN, *Algazel et les Latins*, dans *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age*, X, 1935-1936, p. 103-127.

ment un passage parallèle à ceux d'Avicenne : « Cum vero separatus fuerit a corpore per mortem et remotum fuerit quod prohibet, complebitur eius delectacio et relevabitur vel removebitur velamen quod occultum est et permanebit felicitas in perpetuum et acquiret vastitatem altissimam et erit socius Angelorum in proquinquitate sui ad Primum verum affeccione non loco » (1).

Ajoutons ici que naturellement al-Ghazālī, en tant qu'il résume Avicenne, emploie la désignation 'Ange' dans sa valeur avicennienne, c'est-à-dire pour indiquer les 'Intelligences séparées', donc les sphères célestes et leurs âmes. On peut citer, p. ex. : « ex Primo provenit Intelligencia nuda, in qua est dualitas, sicut predictum est, unius quidem quod est ei ex Prima et alterius quod est ei ex se ipsa. Igitur provenit ex eo Angelus et celum » (2).

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L'arrivée de la philosophie avicennienne en Occident, au XIII^e^ siècle, avait, par conséquent, posé la question du degré suprême de la béatitude. Nous avons vu qu'Avicenne (al-Ghazālī aussi, tel que les Occidentaux le connaissaient) avait été suivi dans sa doctrine par Pierre d'Espagne. Laurent de Médicis dira donc exactement dans ses vers ce qui s'était passé. Il serait trop long — et bien au delà de la mesure d'un article — de suivre dans le développement de la pensée occidentale sur ce point les différences entre les philosophes latins qui ont accepté la formule d'Avicenne et ceux qui l'ont refutée. Nous nous limiterons ici à examiner, avant tout, la position de deux philosophes de la période des débuts de l'influence arabe : Guillaume d'Auvergne et Roger Bacon ; et des deux maîtres de la Scho-

(1) J. T. MUCKLE, *Algazel's Metaphysics. A Medieval Translation*, Toronto 1933, p. 86 (Cfr. *Libro della Scala*, cit. p. 434. Ce passage est dans les *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa*). Al-Ghazālī revient encore sur la question avec quelques variantes formelles dans un autre passage (J. T. MUCKLE cit. p. 185) : « Cum autem liberatur ab occupacione corporis per mortem, removetur velamen et prohibens et durat semper coherencia ; quoniam anima permanet semper et Intelligencia Agens permanet semper et infusio ex parte eius est largissima, quoniam hec est sibi ex se, anima vero apta est ex se ipsa ad recipiendum ab illa, cum nichil est quod prohibeat ».

(2) J. T. MUCKLE, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

lastique : St. Albert le Grand et St. Thomas d'Aquin. Ce qu'il y avait d'émanatisme néo-platonicien aberrant par rapport à la tradition de pensée catholique n'échappa pas depuis le début aux Occidentaux ; et, en effet, Guillaume d'Auvergne se prononce ouvertement dans son *De Anima* contre l'hypothèse avicennienne d'Intelligences qui seraient intermédiaires entre Dieu et l'homme : « Post haec autem incipiam destruere errorem eorum qui causas alias efficientes quam Creatorem benedictum eidem posuerunt, ex quibus fuit Aristoteles et seguaces eius videlicet Alfarabius, Algazel et Avicenna et plures alii qui post eum et per eum forsitan a via veritatis in parte ista deviaverunt. Posuerunt enim Intelligentiam Agentem effectricem animarum humanarum. Et quoniam manifestum est eas per generationem non esse possibile venire in esse, necesse habuerunt ponere ut hoc esset eis a creatione, non abhorrentes nomen incommunicabile Creatoris in creaturam impiissima abusione communicare neque operationem Omnipotentis Creatoris propriam eiusque solius virtutis potestatem creaturae attribuere » (1). Et dans la quatrième partie de son ouvrage Guillaume d'Auvergne revient sur la question plus particulièrement ; et après avoir prouvé « quod inter intelligibilia et intellectum possibilem non est ponendus intellectus agens medius irradians intellectum materialem ac possibilem » (2), et encore « quod non est ponendus intellectus agens separatus et appropriatus intellectui possibili » (3), il est amené à conclure sur le problème du but suprême de l'âme dans son aspiration à la béatitude :

« Amplius quemadmodum virtus nostra motiva nobilis est inclinata naturaliter et propendens in Bonum quod est Creator : in alio enim non est possibile ut sit ei quies neque satietas. Sed virtus nostra intellectiva est naturaliter inclinata in Verum et non in verum intentione universali sed in quoddam Verum et in quamdam Veritatem. Non enim potest esse vagus et indeterminatus finis naturalis inclinationis et

(1) *Guillelmi Alverni Episcopi Parisiensis Opera Omnia*, Paris 1674, vol. II, p. 112-114.
(2) *Op. cit.*, p. 207-209.
(3) *Op. cit.*, p. 210.

intentionis similiter neque motus naturalis. Quapropter manifestum est quod intentio naturalis et inclinatio virtutis nostrae intellectivae est Primum Verum ac luminosissimum sive in primam ac luminosissimam Veritatem, cum quemodmodum praedixi ; nec in alio vero seu veritate quiescere eam nec ab alio impleri lumine scientiae completae eidem possibile sit » (1).

Guillaume d'Auvergne exprime ici, comme on le voit bien, ses objections à la thèse d'Avicenne dans le même sens et encore parfois par quelques coïncidences verbales typiques avec ce que dira deux siècles plus tard Laurent de Médicis.

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* *

Roger Bacon, qui, cependant, considère Avicenne « precipuus Aristotelis expositor », suit une même ligne d'argumentation que Guillaume d'Auvergne. Dans sa *Moralis Philosophia* il affirme avant tout la nécessité d'une Cause Première unique : « Non est igitur causa ante causam in infinitum ; ergo standum est ad aliquam causam primam, que non habet causam ante se. Et omnis multitudo ad unitatem reducitur, ut videmus, et in omni genere est unum principium, ad quod cetera reducuntur. Quod si hec sit causa prima et non habens causam ante se, manifestum est quod non exivit in esse per causam » (2). L'éternité de la Cause Première postule évidemment la non éternité, au début et à la fin, des êtres et choses qui lui succèdent dans la chaîne des causes : ce qui nous porte à la nécessité de la création : « Quod eciam nunquam habuit non esse, est elongatum in infinitum a non esse ; et ideo impossibile est quod cadat in non esse. Res enim alique que exiverunt in esse, possunt non esse, quia non fuit infinita elongacio earum a non esse ; nam aliquando non fuerunt » (3). L'éternité de la Cause Première doit comprendre aussi logiquement son omnipotence ; et « si potencia Eius est infinita, potest hunc mundum producere ; et Eius sapiencia infinita novit de hoc optime ordinare, et eius bonitas

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 212.
(2) *Rogeri Baconis Moralis Philosophia*, éd. E. Massa, Zurich 1953, p. 201.
(3) *Op. cit. ibidem.*

requirit quod fiat, quia optimi est optima facere et suam bonitatem aliis communicare, quantum possibile est eis ; ergo hec Causa produxit mundum necessario » (1). Mais — et ici Bacon argumente contre l'hypothèse émanatiste d'Avicenne, sans le nommer — la Cause Première, qui est le Créateur, est une et il n'y a pas de co-créateurs ! « Mundus fuit productus in esse, set non nisi ab hac Causa Prima. Nisi dicas quod plures sint huiusmodi cause. Quod esse non potest, quia tunc neutra esset infinite potencie : quoniam, si una est infinite potencie potest facere quicquid vult ; ergo contra voluntatem alterius; ergo reliqua non est infinite potentie, postquam potest eius voluntas impediri » (2).

La création est un acte de la bonté infinie de la Cause Première, Créateur unique : « Beneficium creacionis est infinitum in hoc, quod non potest fieri nisi per potenciam infinitam : nulla enim potencia finita potest creare quia infinita est distancia inter esse et non esse » (3). Cet acte de bonté infinie rend nécessaire l'obédience à Dieu Créateur ; selon les mots d'Avicenne (ici cités par Bacon) « oportet enim obedire mandatis Eius cuius est creatura » (4). L'obédience de la créature humaine aura nécessairement comme récompense, à cause de la bonté infinie du Créateur, la béatitude dans la vie éternelle. « Set appetitus anime racionalis transcendit omne bonum finitum, et ideo eius appetitus non potest claudi nisi per bonum infinitum quod est Deus ; et ideo gloria humana erit in participacione deitatis » (5).

Ainsi Roger Bacon arrive à exclure nettement du cadre de sa vision de la béatitude l'arrêt de l'âme humaine en deçà de Dieu, à l'étape de l'Intellectus Agens des Avicenniens.

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Passons maintenant aux deux maîtres qui présidèrent à l'adoption de l''aristotélisme arabisant' dans la philosophie

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 203-204.
(2) *Op. cit.*, p. 204.
(3) *Op. cit.*, p. 206.
(4) *Ibidem.*
(5) *Op. cit.*, p. 207.

occidentale. Naturellement il ne faut pas s'attendre à trouver, sur la question qui nous occupe ici, une attitude tranchante dans les œuvres de St. Albert le Grand. On connaît la prudence avec laquelle il a traité, en général, l'hypothèse cosmogonique d'Avicenne. St. Albert a examiné, d'abord le problème dans son *De Apprehensione:* « An intellectus humanus jungatur divinae essentiae quasi formae ». Il refuse d'accepter « ut placuit Avicennae » le principe que « dicta forma aliqua est intentio vel similitudo a substantia separata in humano relicta intellectu », et il cite aussi l'opinion d'autres auteurs disant que « non divinam videri posse substantiam sed fulgorem quemdam solum quasi ipsius radium existentem substantia ». L'acte de connaissance au degré suprême est l'effet, sans intermédiaire, d'une donation gracieuse de Dieu « quacumque enim alia intellectus creatus forma informaretur, nequiret per eam in divinam duci essentiam : per solam siquidem divinam essentiam, non per aliquam similitudinem ab ipsa effluxam, in divina potest intellectus creatus immediate attolli essentiam » (1).

Et dans son traité *De intellectu et intelligibili*, après avoir considéré les différents degrés des intelligences, il arrive à l'« intellectus assimilativus » ; et finalement il le qualifie « qui per gradus applicationis luminis inferioris ad lumen superius ascendit usque ad lumen intellectus divini et in illo stat sicut in fine : et ideo cum omnes homines natura scire desiderant, finis desiderii est stare in intellectu divino : quia ultra illum non ascendit aliquis nec ascendere potest » (2). Et l'on voit comme ce deuxième passage semble, au moins prima facie, plus clair que l'autre cité ci-dessus. Toutefois St. Albert avait dit un peu avant dans ce même chapitre : « Anima igitur humana concipiendo lumen cui applicatur intellectus agens in ipsa illustratus, applicatur lumen intelligentiarum et amplius clarescit in illo. Et, sicut dicit Alfarabius, in ipso efficitur sicut stellae cœli ; et intellectus huic lumini beate et pure permixtus peritissimus efficitur astrorum et prognostaticationum quae

(1) *B. Alberti Magni Episcopi Ratisbonensis O. P. Opera Omnia*, éd. A. Borgnet, vol. V, Paris 1890, p. 667-668.

(2) *Op. cit.*, vol. IX, Paris 1890, p. 517.

sunt in astris » (1) (qui sont le siège des Intelligences séparées d'Al-Fārābī et d'Avicenne). Et après « in illo autem lumine confortatus consurgit intellectus in lumen divinum quod nomen non habet et inenarrabile est : quia proprio nomine non innotescit sed ut recipitur innotescit : et primum in quo recipitur est intelligentia quae est Primum Causatum ; et cum enarretur, nomine illius enarratur et non nomine proprio, sed nomine sui causati » (2) : ce qui conserve dans la formulation donnée par St. Albert à la question, en partie au moins, une attitude qui n'est pas décidément opposée au système d'Al-Fārābī et d'Avicenne (3).

* * *

Encore sur ce point les matériaux, que St. Albert avait rassemblés et étudiés le premier, ont une élaboration plus décidée chez son grand disciple. Le problème philosophique, que Laurent de Médicis a résumé dans ses vers en réfutant Avicenne, avait été traité longuement par St. Thomas d'Aquin dans la *Summa contra Gentiles*. Dans ce passage (l. III, c. LVII) St. Thomas, quoiqu'il ne nomme pas Avicenne, se prononce contre l'idée du philosophe arabe sur l'arrêt aux Anges des 'gradus beatitudinis' de l'intelligence humaine : en effet, selon cette démonstration, il est nécessaire pour la vision de la substance divine par l'intelligence créée (humaine) qu'elle « sublimetur quodam supernaturali lumine ». Il s'ensuit que « cum divina virtus sit infinita », aucune intelligence, même infime, ne peut être incapable d'élévation par ce « lumen », comme il est indifférent dans le cas d'une guérison par miracle que le miraculé soit plus ou moins

(1) *Op. cit.*, vol. IX *laud.*, p. 517.

(2) *Op. cit.*, vol. IX, p. 517.

(3) Un passage analogue est dans le traité (de St. Albert le Grand) *De Causis et processu universitatis* (*Opera Omnia*, cit. vol. X, p. 573-574) : « Si autem quaeritur unde causatur in omnibus appetitus ad esse divinum ? satis facile solvitur, si ea quae dicta sunt ad memoriam revocentur. Habitum enim est quod Primum lumine suo penetrat in omne quod est, quae penetratio luminis divini boni est inclinatio et ad divinum bonum inchoata similitudo. 'Simile autem appetit simile', ut dicit Boetius ; per simile enim constituitur, perficitur et augetur et salvetur. Ex hoc ergo causatur quod omne quod est appetat divinum bonum et propter illud agunt quod agunt ; nec aliquid est appetibile nisi per hoc quod aliquid divinum micat in ipso ».

malade. « Distantia intellectus secundum ordinem naturae supremi ad Deum est infinita in perfectione et bonitate ; eius autem distantia ad intellectum infimum est finita. Finiti enim ad finitum non potest esse infinita distantia. Igitur distantia quae est inter finitum intellectum creatum et supremum est quasi nihil in comparatione ad illam distantiam quae est inter supremum intellectum et Deum... Nihil ergo differt quicumque intellectus sit qui ad Dei visionem per lumen praedictum elevatur, utrum summus, vel infimus vel medius » (1).

* * *

Dante n'avait pas à discuter systématiquement ces questions ; et par surcroît, quoique parfois il paraisse qu'on l'oublie, il n'était pas un philosophe, mais un grand poète. Pour autant qu'il s'approche de notre problème indirectement, sans y toucher, nous remarquons d'abord qu'il adopte explicitement la terminologie qu'Avicenne avait suivie, en appelant 'Anges' les Intelligences séparées des sphères célestes (2) ; et il

(1) St. Thomas ne parle pas explicitement des 'Anges' (dans le sens avicennien du mot) dans le passage cité ci-dessus ; mais ensuite, dans la conclusion de son chapitre, il fait bien entendre que l'« intellectus supremus », dont il vient de parler, est l'"Ange' de la doctrine d'Avicenne, parce qu'il intègre sa démonstration philosophique en s'appuyant sur les passages bibliques où les Anges sont rapprochés des humains (MATT. XXII, 30 ; APOC. X ; GEN. XVIII ; EZ. I, 8).

Sur la question générale de l'hypothèse d'Avicenne de la pluralité des intelligences supérieures des corps célestes (les 'Anges' mêmes de cette cosmogonie) St. Thomas avait été plutôt nuancé (*Summa contra gentiles*, l. III c. XXIII) en concluant : « Non differt autem, quantum ad presentem intentionem, utrum corpus caeleste moveatur a substantia intellectuali conjuncta quae sit anima eius vel a substantia separata et utrum unumquodque corporum caelestium moveatur a Deo : vel nullum immediate sed mediantibus substantiis intellectualibus creatis aut primum tamen immediate a Deo, alia vero mediantibus substantiis creatis, dummodo habeatur quod motus caelestis est a substantia intellectuali » ; et nous avons vu que dans le passage cité dans le texte ci-dessus St. Thomas parle toujours de « intellectus supremus » au singulier.

(2) *Convivio*, II, 5 « E' adunque da sapere primamente che li movitori di quello [cielo] sono Sustanze separate da materia, cioè Intelligenze, le quali la volgare gente chiama Angeli ». Cette identification, dans le sens d'Avicenne, est typiquement plus avancée que l'attitude de St. Albert le Grand, qui avait dit (*De Causis et processu universitatis* in *Opera Omnia*, éd. cit. vol. X, p. 431), après avoir exposé — conformément à la doctrine d'Avicenne — sa cosmogonie : « Ordines autem Intelligentiarum quos nos determinavimus quidam dicunt esse ordines

affirme, avec non moins de clarté, que le mouvement des sphères est dû à un acte de connaissance des Anges :

Voi che intendendo il terzo ciel movete (1).

Or, selon le système de Dante, et tel qu'il y fait allusion dans le *Convivio* et dans la *Divine Comédie*, le ciel 'Premier Mobile' a l'Intelligence, et donc son mouvement, des Séraphins : « li Serafini che veggion più della Prima Cagione che alcun' altra angelica natura » (2) et dans le chant XXVIII du *Paradis:*

I cerchi primi
T'hanno mostrato i Serafi e i Cherubi,
Cosi veloci seguono i suoi vimi
per somigliarsi al Punto quanto ponno
e posson quanto a veder son sublimi (3).

Le degré de béatitude des deux premières Hiérarchies des Anges (les Chérubins ont le ciel des Étoiles Fixes) est en relation avec le degré de connaissance que leur proximité de la vision de Dieu peut leur faire obtenir (4). Mais ce degré si élevé des Séraphins (5) n'est pas, dans l'idée de Dante, une limite suprême pour la béatitude des âmes humaines. Dieu est

Angelorum et Intelligentias vocant Angelos ; et hoc quidem dicunt Isaac et Rabbi Moyses et caeteri philosophi Judaeorum. Sed nos hoc verum esse non credimus. Ordines enim Angelorum distinguuntur secundum differentiam illuminationum et theophaniarum, quae revelatione accipiuntur et fide creduntur et ad perfectionem regni coelestis ordinantur in gratia et beatitudine : de quibus philosophia nihil potest per rationem philosophicam determinare ».

(1) *Convivio*, II, « Canzone Prima ». Et dans son commentaire (*ibidem* II, 6) Dante spécifie : « *Voi che intendendo*, cioè con l'intelletto solo ».

(2) *Convivio*, *loc. cit.*

(3) *Paradis*, XXVIII, v. 98-101.

(4) Dante, selon les commentateurs anciens, se fonde ici sur le passage de St. Jean (I Joh, III, 2) « Scimus quoniam, cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus ; quoniam videbimus eum sicut est ».

(5) Le Premier Mobile des Séraphins est

la fiamma più sincera
Cui men distava la Favilla pura.
Credo però che più di lei s'invera (*Paradis*, XXVIII, v. 37-39).

et encore

il cerchio che più ama e che più sape (*ibidem* v. 72).

et enfin :

Quel cerchio che più Gli è congiunto
E sappi che il suo muovere è sì tosto
per l'affocato amore ond'egli è punto (*ibidem*, v. 43-45).

il Vero in che si queta ogn' intelletto (1)

et non seulement l'intelligence angélique, mais aussi celle des hommes ; car Béatrice, lorsque son poète est arrivé avec elle

al ciel ch'è pura luce

lui annonce :

« Qui vederai l'una e l'altra milizia
di Paradiso, e l'una in quelli aspetti
che tu vedrai all'ultima giustizia : (2)

les anges et les hommes et ceux-ci avec leurs corps, comme à la Résurrection finale.

* * *

Après cet examen, peut-être trop rapide, de la pensée médiévale, selon ses représentants les plus éminents, sur le problème énoncé dans l'*Altercazione* de Laurent de Médicis, il sera convenable de jeter un coup d'œil sur les contemporains de Laurent, tout au moins sur deux personnages représentatifs des idées de la Renaissance et du mouvement platonique qui l'a caractérisée dans la ville des Médicis.

D'abord, Christophe Landino, de l'Académie Platonicienne de Ficin, ami et collaborateur de Laurent. Or Landino, dans ses *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, dialogue où Laurent lui-même est en scène avec Léon Baptiste Alberti, a discuté la question de la fin ultime de la béatitude des hommes, et la conclusion en est la même que celle de l'*Altercazione* (3) :

« Repetatur inde igitur, inquit Baptista [Alberti], unde digressa est de summo bono disputatio. Verum cum iam constet Deum esse summum bonum (4) ; reliqua facilius explicabuntur,

(1) *Ibidem*, v. 108.

(2) *Paradis*, XXX, v. 43-45.

(3) *Christophori Landini Florentini libri quattuor Disputationum Camaldulensium*, Strasbourg 1508 per Matthiam Schürer, f. 24 *v.*

(4) L'identification 'summus finis = Summum Bonum' par Landino a son parallèle dans les vers de Laurent (*Altercazione*, IV, 70-72 in *Opere* éd. cit. vol. II p. 55) :

La volontà convien sempre si muova ;
nè si contenta di alcun ben giammai
sopra il qual sia maggior dolcezza nuova.
Fermasi e posa sol ne' divin rai,
perchè d'intero bene ha sempre inopia
fin che il Supremo Ben ritrovato hai.

atque hoc in primis : nam cum summum bonum sit Deus, quid negocii habet res probare summum quoque hominis esse bonum ? Quid enim aliquid agit, id boni alicuius gratia agere iam diu demonstratum est. Dabis ergo hoc ? ne, ut est in proverbio, actum agamus. Dabo quidem, inquit Laurentius [sc. Mediceus]. Huiuscemodi igitur bonum, inquit Baptista, finem eius esse nemo dubitat. Dicimus enim eum esse finem quo acquisito ita expletur appetitus ut nihil praeterea quaerat. Omnis autem appetitus bono expletur. Quapropter si recte colligitur id finem iure dici et quod si absit desideratur et quo si adsit fruimur, in eoque acquiescimus, facile est videre cuiuscumque rei eundem finem esse et perfectionem. Quicquid enim sua perfectione caret id in eam vel ipsius numquam errantis naturae impulsu vel suo sensu suaque ratione donec assequatur fertur atque in ea, cum assecutus fuerit, sua sponte conquiescit. Puto me satis dilucide ostendisse omnia suum finem petere eundemque esse bonum. Ostendisti profecto, inquit Laurentius, atque ex hoc quid conficere velis plane intelligo. Nam si idem bonum sit atque finis, quis non videt quod Summum bonum sit id maximum finem esse. »

Encore un autre des plus célèbres penseurs de la Renaissance, Pic de la Mirandole, contemporain et ami de Laurent de Médicis, s'est posé la même question et l'a résolue d'abord — contre les vers cités de l'*Altercazione* — dans un sens beaucoup plus proche de la métaphysique d'Avicenne. Pic de la Mirandole, en effet, dans son Commentaire à la chanson sur l'amour de Gerolamo Benivieni, avait commencé par adhérer pleinement à la conception avicenniene de l'unité de l'Intelligence Première : « Seguendo adunque noi la openione di Plotino, non solo da' migliori Platonici, ma anchora da Aristotile et da tutti li Arabi et massime da Avicenna seguitata, dico che Dio ab eterno produsse una creatura di natura incorporea et intellettuale, tanto perfetta quanto è possibile che sia una cosa creata ; et però oltre ad lei niente altro produsse, imperocchè da una causa perfettissima non può procedere se non un effetto perfettissimo et quello che è perfettissimo non può essere più che uno... Questa ragione io sono usato di addurre ad confirmatione di questa openione et parmi più efficace di quella

che usa Avicenna, laquale si fonda sopra questo principio che da una causa, inquanto è una, non può procedere più che uno effetto » (1).

Cette Intelligence Première, qui théologiquement doit être appelée — selon Pic de la Mirandole — le Premier Ange (2), est aussi le but suprême de la progression amoureuse de l'âme humaine, où elle s'identifie avec le sixième degré de l'échelle ascendante. Voici le texte de Pic, qui diffère substantiellement de celui de Laurent :

« Di poi, da sè al proprio intelletto ascendendo, è nel quinto grado, dove la celeste Venere in propria forma et non immaginaria, benchè non però con totale plenitudine della sua bellezza che in intelletto particolare non cape, se li dimostra. (Grado VI) De la quale l'anima avida et sitibonda cerca el proprio et particolare intelletto alla universale et Prima Mente coniungere, prima infra tutte le creature et universale albergo della ideale bellezza. Et ad quella pervenendo l'anima, grado in ordine sesto, termina el suo camino, nè gli è lecito nel septimo, quasi sabbato del celeste amore, muoversi più oltre, ma ivi debbe come in suo fine, a lato al primo padre fonte di ogni bellezza, felicemente riposarsi » (3). Et Pic, en se déclarant ouvertement partisan de l'émanatisme d'Avicenne, polémique avec Marsile Ficin, qui tenait pour la création immédiate : « Però mi meraviglio di Marsilio che tenga, secondo Platone, l'anima nostra essere immediatamente da Dio prodotta » (4).

(1) *Opere di Girolamo Benivieni Fiorentino con una Canzona dello Amor celeste e divino col Commento dello Ill. S. Conte Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, Venezia 1522, f. 7 *r.* (= éd. E. Garin, p. 465-466).

(2) Pic de la Mirandole s'est préoccupé de situer exactement au point de vue théologique l'Intelligence Première, qu'il accepte d'Avicenne : *(op. cit.* f. 7 *v)* : « Et habbi ciascuno diligente advertentia di non credere che questo [sc. Primo Intelletto] sia quello che da' nostri Theologi è detto Figliuolo di Dio : imperochè noi intendiamo per il Figliuolo di Dio una medesima essentia col Padre, a lui in ogni cosa equale, Creatore finalmente e non creatura, ma debbesi comparare quello che i Platonici chiamano 'figliuolo di Dio' al primo e più nobile Angelo da Dio prodotto » (= Pico della Mirandola, *De Hominis Dignitate, Heptaplus, De ente et uno e scritti vari*, éd. E. Garin, Florence 1942, p. 466-467).

(3) Op. cit. éd. E. Garin, p. 569.

(4) *Op. cit.* éd. E. Garin, p. 466 (Ce passage, comme les autres dirigés contre Marsile Ficin, avaient été supprimés dans l'édition de Venise).

Plus tard, Pic de la Mirandole revient dans son *Heptaplus* sur le problème et cette fois il s'est converti à l'interprétation que les Académiciens de Florence — Marsile et Laurent, en premier lieu — avaient donnée. Et ceci encore dans un sens strictement orthodoxe : « Sed et nos omnes, quibus data potestas filios Dei fieri per gratiam cuius dator est Christus super angelicam dignitatem evehi possumus » (1) ; Pic arrive ainsi à renier directement la doctrine d'Avicenne qu'il avait jadis acceptée : « Dare aliquid plus visi Avicenna, Averroes, Abubacher, Alexander et Platonici nostram rationem in Intellectu qui actu est aut aliquo superiore, nobis tamen cognato, quasi in suo fine firmantes ; sed neque hi hominem ad suum Principium nec ad suum Finem adducunt » (2). Il n'est pas besoin de rappeler ici que l'*Heptaplus* a été rédigé en 1489 après la généreuse et vraiment magnifique hospitalité que Laurent de Médicis accorda à Pic de la Mirandole à Florence en 1488 ; tandis que la 'Commentaire à la chanson de Benivieni' avait été composé trois ans plus tôt, en 1486.

* * *

Nous voici au terme de notre investigation. L'homme peut-il parvenir, par l'échelle de la connaissance ou de l'amour, jusqu'à Dieu ? Ou plutôt sa béatitude, le degré suprême que l'âme humaine peut atteindre, s'arrête-t-il aux Intelligences Supérieures, aux Anges ? La question s'est présentée à la pensée des Occidentaux, lorsqu'ils connurent Avicenne (et al-Ghazālī, dans le sens que nous avons dit ci-dessus). Avicenne avait résolu le problème selon son système émanatiste qu'il dérivait — par l'entremise d'al-Fārābī — du néo-platonisme. Bientôt en Occident ce système fut jugé difficilement adaptable à la foi chrétienne ; et déjà Guillaume d'Auvergne et Roger Bacon s'y étaient opposés, comme plus tard s'y opposeront St. Albert le Grand et encore plus St. Thomas d'Aquin, suivi par Dante. Mais, au contraire, Pierre d'Espagne acceptera la solution des Arabes.

(1) *Op. cit.*, éd. E. Garin, p. 266.
(2) *Op. cit.*, éd. E. Garin, p. 331.

A Florence, les penseurs de la Renaissance, réunis dans l'Académie Platonicienne, auront aussi une attitude négative vis-à-vis de l'hypothèse d'Avicenne : Marsile Ficin, sur un plan philosophiquemet plus élevé ; Christophe Landino, et enfin Laurent de Médicis dans l'*Altercazione*. Laurent est le seul à nommer ses opposants médiévaux (Avicenne ; al-Ghazālī et Pierre d'Espagne). Sa démonstration, comme le reste de son poème, est plutôt schématique et sans envol. Sa sécheresse sent l'école (1), plus qu'une inspiration réelle. Il s'agit donc d'un ouvrage 'mineur'.

Même dans cette période le courant favorable au système d'Avicenne est encore vivant, et nous le voyons personnifié par Pic de la Mirandole, qui plus tard changera d'avis en donnant son adhésion à la thèse des Florentins.

Ce cadre historique, dans lequel nous avons situé les vers de l'*Altercazione*, nous fait voir la pensée de la Renaissance se mettre en mouvement et agir ayant à sa base les problèmes que la philosophie médiévale avait formulés et précisés en travaillant, après le XIII^e siècle, sur l'héritage grec (aristotélisme et néo-platonisme) dans l'interprétation que les Arabes en avaient donnée. Il n'y a pas eu de fossé entre la pensée médiévale et l'humanisme ; et la philosophie de la Renaissance, donc, *non facit saltus*. Cela est bien démontré par les résultats de recherches récentes (2) ; et notre analyse de ce problème, typique quoique

(1) Déjà Carducci a caractérisé l'art poétique de l'« Altercazione » avec son incisivité coutumière « signoreggia la declamazione ; e la filosofia di scuola toglie all' arte lo spazio di addimostrarsi ».

(2) E. Gilson (*History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, Londres 1955, p. 803) vient d'affirmer que « the sixteenth-century Renaissance was a continuation of the Christian civilization of the Middle Ages » et spécifiquement pour Marsile Ficin *(ibidem)*, qu'il fut « a continuator of the progressive rediscovery of Greek thought which is one of the fundamental elements of the history of Christian philosophy in the middle ages ». Sur la base scholastique de Marcile Ficin, après les recherches fondamentales de O. Kristeller (cfr. p. ex. *The Scholastic Background of Marsilio Ficino* dans *Traditio*, II, 1944, p. 257-318), E. Garin avait insisté sur 'la préparation traditionnellement scholastique' de Ficin (*L'Umanesimo Italiano*, Bari 1952, p. 116). Récemment, toutefois, il a invité les historiens 'à regarder au delà du Ficin trop scholastique des uns et du Ficin trop moderne et idéaliste des autres, vers un Ficin divulgateur d'un hermétisme équivoque' (E. GARIN, *Studi sul Platonismo medievale*, Florence 1958, p. 187), hermétisme ficinien dont il avait déjà parlé dans *Medio Evo e Rimascimento, Studi e Ricerche*, Bari 1954, p. 301 sqq.

limité, en est encore une confirmation. Dans notre cas, si l'on voulait employer à tout prix une formule frappante, on pourrait dire que Marsile Ficin et son Académie florentine s'appuient sur Platon, revenu encore une fois directement en Occident, pour faire pièce au néo-platonisme d'Avicenne (1).

Mais cette situation historique est aussi la preuve de la valeur de la philosophie médiévale dans l'évolution de la pensée humaine : une valeur éminente qui a été justement revendiquée (2) ; et de l'influence déterminante que la connaissance des grands philosophes arabes a eue jusqu'à la Renaissance : ce qui enrichit encore la fonction de progrès humain qu'on doit reconnaître à la collaboration réciproque de l'Orient et de l'Occident au Moyen Age.

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(1) On vient de poser la question des rapports historiques entre la doctrine de l'amour chez Marsile Ficin (et, par conséquent, Laurent de Médicis) et l'idée de l'amour dans l'école poétique du *dolce stil novo*. M. VALENCY (*In Praise of Love*, New York 1958) pousse très loin ses conclusions (*op. cit.* p. 223) : « Ficino's interpretation of the Symposium owed almost as much to the *stilnovisti* as to Plato, and in time *stilnovisme* merged with the Platonism of the new age so throughly that the two became hardly recognisable ». Le problème est très important, mais je crois qu'il faut chercher sa solution plutôt dans l'Avicennisme en tant que source commune : du *stil novo* au XIII^e^ (et XIV^e^) siècle, et de Marsile et son cercle à la Renaissance. M. Valency, au contraire, ne cite pas même Avicenne et considère le *stil novo* comme basé sur l'Averroïsme. J'en parlerai plus longuement dans mon étude sur *Avicenne et le stil novo* que j'espère publier prochainement.

(2) Cfr. *supra* et aussi E. GILSON, *La Philosophie au Moyen Age*, Paris 1947, p. 761 : « La philosophie moderne n'a pas eu de lutte à soutenir pour conquérir les droits de la raison contre le moyen âge ; c'est au contraire le moyen âge qui les a conquis pour elle, et l'acte même par lequel le XVIII^e^ siècle s'imaginait abolir l'œuvre des siècles précédents ne faisait encore que la continuer ». Cette affirmation, qui est à interpréter comme la probatio probatissima de la continuité historique de la pensée humaine, gagne, de plus en plus, sa signification véritable avec le progrès des recherches sur les luttes doctrinales du Christianisme médiéval (Cfr. p. ex. R. MORGHEN, *Il Medio Evo Cristiano*, Bari 1958) et sur l'influence réciproque de l'Orient Arabe et de l'Occident dans l'histoire culturelle du Moyen Age (Cfr. *Oriente ed Occidente nel Medio Evo, Atti del XII Convegno Volta dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Rome 1957). Et pour la Renaissance florentine particulièrement voir maintenant R. MARCEL, *Marsile Ficin*, Paris 1958, pp. 31-120.

A PROPOS DE LA PERPÉTUITÉ DE LA RÉTRIBUTION D'OUTRE-TOMBE EN THÉOLOGIE MUSULMANE

Les théologiens de l'Islam sunnite sont pratiquement unanimes à enseigner la perpétuité de la rétribution dans l'au-delà, ou si l'on veut l'éternité *a parte post* du paradis et de l'enfer une fois créés et peuplés de leurs habitants respectifs (1). En revanche, si les hérésiologues et quelques historiens enregistrent sur ce point, comme sur d'autres, les vues hétérodoxes de Jahm ibn Ṣafwān, sur qui il est de bon ton de s'acharner dans ce genre de littérature, nous ne possédons, dans les textes théologiques signalés jusqu'à maintenant, aucune argumentation tant soit peu poussée en faveur de la doctrine reçue. A ne considérer que les notations brèves touchant ce sujet dans les ouvrages habituellement consultés par les islamologues et à plus forte raison par les théologiens musulmans eux-mêmes, on penserait facilement qu'il s'agît d'une thèse si solidement enracinée dans la conscience musulmane dès avant les grandes controverses théologiques de la période omeyyade finissante que nul n'a éprouvé le besoin de faire plus que d'accabler

(1) Voir Aš'arī, *Maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, éd. H. Ritter, pp. 148, 11-149, 2 et les parallèles signalés par l'éditeur ; *ibid.*, 164,4 ; 279,2 ; 474,14 ; voir en outre A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge, 1932, et A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, Londres 1947, passages marqués aux mots *Paradise* et *Hell* dans l'index du premier, *Heaven* et *Hell* dans celui du second ; on ajoutera maintenant *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, éd. H. Laoust, Damas, 1958, p. 55/99-100. Nous n'avons pas à nous occuper ici du rôle éventuel de l'intercession du Prophète dans la libération des grands pécheurs musulmans du feu de l'enfer (on peut voir à ce sujet R. Eklund, *Life between Death and Resurrection according to Islam*, Uppsala, 1941, p. 87 sq.). Les pages consacrées au problème par M. Abdus Subhan, *Islamic Culture*, XI, 1937, 223 sq. n'apportent rien de nouveau.

l'unique dissident ou tout au plus de disculper ceux qui, au rapport d'adversaires malveillants, l'auraient suivi peu ou prou (1).

Il existe pourtant un document qui complète sur ce point les maigres données habituellement mises en œuvre ; il est d'ailleurs loin d'être inconnu, encore que les islamologues aient quelques bonnes raisons de ne l'avoir pas exploité.

Le théologien juif arabophone David ibn Marwān al-Muqammiṣ dont l'activité se situe aux environs de l'an 900 de l'ère usuelle (2), a consacré le seizième chapitre (ou « discours », *maqāla*) de son compendium théologique *'išrūn maqālāt (sic)* au problème de la rétribution. Imprégné d'influences kalāmiques, il utilise, en traitant cette question comme beaucoup d'autres, des argumentations d'une veine mu'tazilite difficilement contestable. En l'occurrence, il fait mieux encore, car il cite littéralement un nombre respectable d'arguments en faveur de l'éternité de la rétribution, arguments dont le caractère mu'tazilite est très nettement marqué. Il n'est pas douteux que ce faisant, il nous a conservé des extraits d'une ou de plusieurs œuvres mu'tazilites perdues (3). Le malheur a voulu cependant que l'œuvre d'al-Muqammiṣ ait connu un destin à peine plus propice que celle des grands théologiens mu'tazilites des IXe-Xe siècles : sans parler de ses autres traités

(1) Ainsi Ḫayyāṭ, qui s'emploie énergiquement à laver Abū l-Huḏayl al-'Allāf de l'accusation lancée par Ibn al-Rāwandī d'avoir suivi Jahm dans sa négation de l'éternité de la rétribution : *K. al-intiṣār*, éd. H. S. Nyberg, le Caire, 1925, pp. 12 sqq., cf. p. 168. Voir aussi *Muslim Creed*, p. 121 et A. Nader, *Falsafat al-Mu'tazila*, II, 1951, pp. 134-137 ; *Le Système philosophique des Mu'tazila*, Beyrouth, 1956, p. 315 sq. [Il y a cependant un bref exposé sur le sujet dans *K. al-bad' wat-ta'riḫ*, éd. Cl. Huart, I, 200-202/188 sq.].

(2) Voir sur lui, outre M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1893, § 218, p. 378 sq., et *Die Arabische Literatur der Juden*, Berlin, 1902, § 25, p. 37, les pages que lui consacrent les manuels d'histoire de philosophie juive d'I. Husik, Jul. Guttmann et G. Vajda, et le travail en russe de M. J. Ginsburg, dans *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, 5, 1930, pp. 481-507, ainsi que S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 2e édition, t. VIII, New-York, 1958, pp. 97-98, 327.

(3) Nous ignorons lesquelles. Si l'on voulait se livrer au jeu des conjectures, à peu près vain dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, on pourrait songer à des traités comme le *K. al-masā'il fī n-na'īm* de Ja'far b. Ḥarb (cf. *K. al-intiṣār*, p. 124 sq., cf. p. 72) ou des ouvrages également perdus d'Abū l-Huḏayl comme *K. al-ḥujaj* ou *K. al-qawālib* (cf. Baġdādī, *al-Farq bayna l-firaq*, p. 104).

complètement perdus, les « Vingt Discours » n'ont subsisté que partiellement grâce à un manuscrit judéo-arabe mutilé de Leningrad dont aucun chercheur occidental n'a pu prendre intégralement connaissance ; du reste, au témoignage des deux savants russes qui ont eu la possibilité de l'examiner, les portions conservées ne couvrent, avec des lacunes, que les quinze premiers discours.

Notre seul recours demeure ainsi la version hébraïque du XVI^e discours que nous conserve, avec quelques autres fragments dont l'original arabe existe encore, le « Commentaire sur le Livre de la Création » *(Pērūš Séfer Yeṣīra)* de Juda ben (bar) Barzilaï, rabbin à Barcelone au premier quart du XII^e siècle (1). Nous ignorons si ce docteur juif, connu surtout comme talmudiste, est lui-même responsable de ces traductions (on trouve dans ce même commentaire encore d'autres extraits traduits d'auteurs judéo-arabes du X^e siècle) ou s'il a transcrit des textes hébraïques déjà existants. De toute façon, ces traductions sont très malhabiles ; elles usent au surplus d'une terminologie qui ne sera point retenue par les grands traducteurs juifs de la fin du XII^e siècle, beaucoup plus maîtres de leur art, qui forgeront la langue philosophique de l'hébreu médiéval. Enfin, l'ouvrage vite démodé de Juda ben Barzilaï n'a survécu que dans un manuscrit unique dont l'édition laisse elle-même beaucoup à désirer.

Ainsi se fait-il que, malgré leur importance, les fragments d'al-Muqammiṣ conservés de façon si précaire n'aient guère franchi le cercle très étroit des médiévistes hébraïsants (2).

Nous nous proposons ici de traduire vaille que vaille le morceau entier, d'une étendue raisonnable (3), sans nous cacher

(1) *Commentar zum Sepher Jezira...* hrsg... von S. J. Halberstam, Berlin, 1885. Sur l'auteur, on peut voir Baron, *op. laud.* VI, 73, 361 (n. 81) et VIII, 38,291 (n. 42, où une distraction fait parler M. Baron de « manuscrits », au pluriel).

(2) Les pages qui nous occupent ont été brièvement touchées par M. Ventura, *La Philosophie de Saadia Gaon*, Paris, 1934, pp. 72-73 (cf. aussi, sur le problème de la rétribution, *ibid.*, p. 275, et G. Vajda, dans *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 1949, p. 173 sq.) et M. Baron, *op. laud.*, VIII, 104-105, 330 sq. (n. 65).

(3) P. 151,27 à 154,2 de l'édition. L'identité de l'auteur et le lieu de provenance de l'extrait sont énoncés sans équivoque par Juda b. Barzilaï : « Rabbi David le

les risques multiples qu'offre la traduction d'une traduction, qui charriera fatalement les bévues du présent translateur jointes à celles aussi, sans doute, du traducteur de l'original. Nous croyons néanmoins que le sens général des textes ressortira à peu près indemne de ces avatars, en même temps que sera réalisé notre objectif : enrichir quelque peu le dossier tellement déficient du mu'tazilisme ancien.

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[XVI[e] Discours de David le Babylonien]

(151, 27-29) « Dans ce discours, nous avons dessein d'exposer les problèmes de la récompense que Dieu octroie aux justes et du châtiment qu'il inflige aux impies. Nous examinerons la question de savoir si cette rétribution est ou non [une marque de] sagesse et [de] justice et quelle nécessité y engage ».

[*Définitions*]

(151, 29-35) « Définition de la récompense : la paix de l'âme et la joie qu'elle éprouve de la félicité sans fin du monde à venir, délivrée des tourments de la vie présente, affranchie des convoitises de ce bas-monde ».

« Définition du châtiment : l'instabilité et la douleur sans fin dont souffre l'âme privée de joie jusqu'à la consommation des siècles, lorsqu'elle voit disparaître les jouissances que lui procuraient ses désirs pervers dans ce triste monde-ci. Ou pour le dire plus brièvement : le châtiment est l'affliction de l'âme dans le monde à venir, en un lieu (1) où elle subit sa peine méritée selon la justice et l'équité, tandis que la récompense est la joie (lire *ḥedwaṭ*) et l'allégresse de l'âme dans le monde à venir,

Babylonien [= al-'Irāqī] a exposé au seizième discours *(ma'amar = maqāla)* de son livre... » (p. 151, 25-26). Nous traduisons intégralement le texte bien qu'une petite partie en soit du cru d'al-Muqammiṣ, et ne se réfère donc qu'indirectement à notre sujet. Les sous-titres entre crochets sont de nous.

(1) Traduction incertaine. La construction de l'hébreu suggère plutôt que « lieu » *(māqōm)* est pris ici au sens figuré de « Dieu », qu'il a souvent en hébreu rabbinique ; il faudrait alors traduire : « l'affliction de l'âme dans le monde à venir, que Dieu lui inflige... », puis, « la joie dont Dieu le comble... ».

en un lieu où elle éprouve la félicité qu'elle mérite selon la justice et l'équité. »

[Convenance des promesses et des menaces]

(151, 35-152,8) « Passant maintenant à l'étude du fond, nous disons que pour donner du poids aux préceptes positifs comme négatifs, il était indispensable d'indiquer la rétribution attachée respectivement à leur observance et à leur inobservance. En effet, l'homme ne s'abstient de s'adonner à ses passions que retenu par un frein, tel l'enfant qui n'apprendrait pas, n'étaient la crainte du châtiment et l'espoir de la faveur du maître. De même, la plupart des serviteurs des rois n'exécutent les ordres et ne remplissent leur tâche que par recherche de la faveur et crainte du courroux de leurs seigneurs. Il y a analogie parfaite entre ces cas [d'observation courante] et la récompense et le châtiment [attachés aux préceptes des Livres Saints]. Si Dieu prescrit les bonnes œuvres et interdit les mauvaises, sa sagesse requiert qu'il précise la rétribution attachée aux unes et aux autres. Ainsi l'observant fera ce qu'il doit en joie et tranquillité d'esprit, tandis que le pécheur éprouvera du chagrin et de la crainte à la pensée qu'il abandonne les œuvres [prescrites]. Tous les hommes sauront ainsi que les lois de Dieu ne sont pas édictées pour rien (1), mais comportent récompense et avantage. De même que la raison témoigne de l'excellence et de la justesse des préceptes, ainsi fait-elle de la justice et de l'équité de la rétribution ».

[Problème de la durée de la rétribution]

(152, 9-11) « De même que le monde à venir n'a point de terme ni de fin, ainsi convient-il qu'il en soit de la récompense des justes et du châtiment des impies ».

(152, 11-15) « Un penseur a estimé que la récompense des justes devait être éternelle, car Dieu, dans sa clémence et sa générosité, rétribue le bien encore au-dessus du mérite, tandis que le châtiment des impies devait être limité dans le temps, car la piété et la miséricorde de Dieu prenant le pas sur sa

(1) *derek habaï* correspond sans doute à *'aba*^{tan}.

colère, la perfection de sa miséricorde exigeait qu'il punît les impies au-dessous du mérite ».

(152, 15-17) « Selon un autre, s'il convient que le châtiment ait un terme parce que les œuvres et les méfaits des impies passent et s'anéantissent, il en doit être de même quant à la récompense, car les œuvres des justes ne durent pas [non plus] à jamais : lorsque le juste périt, ses œuvres périssent avec lui ».

(152, 17-19) « Un troisième a mis en avant une autre thèse : lorsque nous parlons par manière de mise en garde et d'avertissement, nous devons dire que le châtiment n'a point de fin ; quand nous faisons valoir le point de vue de la justice (!) et de la clémence, nous dirons que le châtiment n'est pas sans limite ».

(152, 19-25) « [A ce propos] un autre docteur a fait observer subtilement que si l'on examine le problème avec l'œil de la raison, on verra qu'à aucun des deux points de vue le châtiment ne doit avoir de fin. En effet, l'assistance [divine] (1) accordée à l'homme pour bien agir requiert que la récompense comme le châtiment prévus soient tels qu'on n'en puisse concevoir de plus grands. Ainsi, l'espoir et la crainte seront portés à leur plus haut point. La parole de Dieu est vérité, et ses annonces comme leur réalisation doivent avoir une insurpassable intensité ».

(152, 25-27) « Un docteur a dressé une liste de dix arguments rationnels en faveur de la récompense et du châtiment ».

a. (152, 27-29) « Dans son extrême bienveillance et miséricorde, Dieu adresse à l'homme des promesses et des menaces (2) ;

(1) *siyyū'a* reflète sans doute *luṭf*.

(2) Les verbes employés par l'hébreu (et les participes qui leur correspondent) signifient plus exactement « guider » *(hinhīg)* et « avertir » *(hizhīr)* ; cette traduction, applicable à quelques passages dans ce morceau, ne l'est pas à d'autres ; notre interprétation suppose que les deux verbes cherchent à rendre *wa'ada* et *aw'ada* ; tout cela cependant ne laisse pas d'être conjectural ; le texte arabe sous-jacent pourrait aussi bien porter *'amara* « ordonner » et *nahā* « interdire » ; traduire ce dernier par *hizhīr* est assez normal en hébreu médiéval ; « guider » reste bizarre comme équivalent aussi bien d'« ordonner » que de « promettre ». Pour le fond, il n'y a toutefois aucune difficulté majeure : il s'agit de toute évidence des commandements et des interdictions du livre révélé, assortis de promesses pour les observants et de menaces pour les transgresseurs.

[il ne le fait] pas en raison de bonnes œuvres antécédentes qui lui auraient valu d'être traité ainsi ».

b. (152, 29-30) « Dieu agit ainsi sans qu'il en résulte aucun bien pour lui, pas plus que [ce faisant] il n'écarte aucun mal [qui le menace] ».

c. (152, 30-31) « Par les promesses et les menaces que Dieu adresse à l'homme, il ne vise que ce qui procure à ce dernier du bien dans l'immédiat et dans l'avenir, et écarte de lui le dam et la perdition dans l'immédiat <et dans l'avenir> ».

d. (152, 32-33) « L'homme qui reçoit ces promesses et ces menaces sait par sa raison que l'objet de celles-là n'est que le bien et la rectitude, et de celles-ci, le mal et la dépravation » (1).

e. (152, 33-36) « Si l'homme à qui vont les promesses avait le choix du genre de récompense, c'est la récompense éternelle qu'il choisirait ; il convient donc que Dieu, qui est maître de la récompense et du châtiment, les ait choisis éternels ».

f. (152, 36-38) « La sagesse requiert que la promesse et la menace divines fassent envisager une béatitude et une damnation éternelles l'une et l'autre, afin que l'espoir et la crainte de l'homme soient portés à leur plus haute intensité ».

g. (152, 38-40) « Si celui qui promet et menace n'est pas digne de foi et que celui à qui la promesse et la menace s'adressent, ne le connaisse pas [non plus] comme tel, l'avertissement du premier n'aura aucun effet et ne suscitera ni espoir ni crainte chez le second » (2).

h. (152, 40-153, 4) « S'étant entendu signifier les promesses et les menaces, il était loisible à l'homme de se détourner du péché. Si malgré tout, il a transgressé les ordres divins, il est juste que son châtiment soit éternel, puisque connaissant l'avertissement de Dieu, il n'y a pas cru et n'y a pas pris garde ».

(1) On aura remarqué que les quatre premiers arguments considérés en eux-mêmes ne portent pas sur le problème en question : ils ne font que frayer la voie aux arguments directs qui vont être présentés à partir d'ici.

(2) Sous cette forme l'argument n'est pas pertinent, puisqu'il ne permet pas de conclure à l'éternité de la rétribution. Si le texte n'est pas incomplètement transmis, l'argument ne trouve son achèvement que dans l'articulation suivante ; le nombre dénaire des preuves apparaîtra ainsi comme artificiel.

i. (153, 4-6) « Celui qui promet et qui menace subsiste éternellement. L'homme qui renie ses préceptes, renie de ce fait sa vie et sa subsistance. Il est donc requis que Dieu lui inflige une peine qui n'aura point de fin ».

j. (153, 6-9) « Celui qui menace et qui promet a ouvert aux impies les portes du repentir et tendu la main pour recevoir ceux qui reviennent à lui (1). L'homme qui ne vient pas à résipiscence et qui s'obstine toute sa vie dans son égarement mérite que sa peine dure aussi longtemps que le monde à venir ».

(153, 9-13) « Voilà les dix arguments qui nous font dire que les méfaits des impies doivent entraîner pour eux une peine éternelle, de même que les bonnes œuvres des justes doivent leur valoir une récompense qui n'aura point de fin. Nous demandons au Créateur de l'univers de nous placer au nombre de ceux qui méritent sa récompense et de nous mettre à l'abri du châtiment. Puisse-t-Il, dans sa grande grâce et miséricorde, nous conduire sur la voie qui mène à Sa faveur ».

[*Autres arguments en faveur de l'éternité de la rétribution*]

(153, 13-20) « Un autre docteur enseigne que l'éternité de la peine et la perpétuité du châtiment sont motivées par le fait que le pécheur vilipende l'unité de Dieu et craint les hommes plus que Lui. Par surcroît, le criminel se cache des hommes et les redoute, alors qu'il ne se cache pas de Dieu dont les yeux parcourent toute la terre, et qui voit, [le pécheur] le sait parfaitement, sans être vu. Les pécheurs volontaires méritent dès lors la peine éternelle, car faisant bon marché de la gloire de Dieu et craignant les hommes, ils donnent la preuve de leur ignorance ; or ce sont les mécréants qui, parmi tous les pécheurs, méritent le plus d'être châtiés éternellement ».

(153, 20-22) « Un autre encore raisonne ainsi : si le pécheur était de ceux qui font la volonté de Dieu, sa récompense durerait à jamais dans le monde à venir ; corrélativement, sa peine, pour avoir provoqué la colère de Dieu, ne se sépare point de lui ; or, le monde à venir dure éternellement, donc le châtiment des impies y dure à jamais ».

(1) La phraséologie de la traduction est juive.

(153, 22-23) « Nous disons que ces arguments en faveur de l'éternité du châtiment des impies sont vrais et qu'ils sont utiles pour la mise en garde des transgresseurs ».

[*La nature de la rétribution: corporelle ou spirituelle?*]

(153, 23-29) « Si l'on demande maintenant : la récompense et le châtiment sont-ils corporels ou spirituels à la fois ou possèdent-ils seulement l'un de ces deux caractères ou aucun des deux, nous répondrons que la rétribution est uniquement spirituelle (1). En effet, c'est l'âme [seule] qui, chez les justes, reçoit la récompense et qui, chez les impies, subit la peine. La récompense donne son sens plein (?) à la nature intime (2) (?) de l'homme et élève celui-ci à la nature des anges, qui sont des êtres spirituels. La récompense est donc spirituelle et, corrélativement, le châtiment l'est aussi ».

(153, 29-34) « Selon une opinion, la récompense et le châtiment sont corporels, non spirituels. Son auteur la motive en faisant remarquer que, dans le monde visible, nous ne connaissons de rétribution que corporelle ; il en sera donc de même dans l'autre monde. Il est faux de prétendre que la récompense signifie l'élévation de l'homme à la nature angélique. L'Écriture ne témoigne de rien de pareil, car le lieu de séjour des anges n'est pas le jardin d'Eden où le Premier Homme avait séjourné corporellement avant d'en être expulsé ; or c'est ce lieu qui est appelé à être la résidence des justes dans le monde à venir, tandis que rien ne nous dit qu'il soit le lieu de résidence des anges ; il n'est donc pas probable qu'hommes et anges y résideront ensemble » (3).

(153, 34-35) « Quant à la négation des deux termes de l'alternative, qui reviendrait à nier la rétribution dans le monde à venir, nous n'avons trouvé aucun docteur qui la professe ».

(1) De cette phrase, l'hébreu offre une double traduction. La thèse approuvée ici n'est pas celle à laquelle al-Muqammiṣ s'arrêtera en définitive (voir ci-après 153,35-38).

(2) Traduction sous toute réserve ; *qādēr* a tout l'air de rendre *ḥadd*, « limite », d'où « définition », donc « essence » ou « nature intime », à moins qu'il ne faille comprendre « domaine », donc « niveau », « plan d'être », le sens général de la doctrine restant le même.

(3) Le texte de la dernière phrase n'est pas sûr.

(153, 35-38) « Nous disons (1) que l'homme est composé de corps et d'âme. C'est à la suite de leur association dans l'action qu'il y a motif à récompense ou à peine. Nous déduisons de là que la récompense et le châtiment portent les deux caractères : corporel et spirituel. Et de même que nous sommes incapables de saisir le mode de la rétribution spirituelle, de même sommes-nous hors d'état de comprendre celui de la rétribution corporelle ».

(153, 38-154, 2) « Ceux (2) des docteurs qui n'admettent pas la résurrection des morts enseignent que la récompense est uniquement spirituelle. Ceux qui nient la spiritualité de l'âme enseignent que la récompense est exclusivement corporelle. Ceux enfin qui admettent que l'homme est composé d'un corps matériel et d'une âme spirituelle enseignent que la récompense est à la fois spirituelle et corporelle. Ces derniers professent la résurrection des morts. Puissions-nous être de leur nombre ».

Georges VAJDA
(Paris)

(1) C'est sans doute la thèse personnelle d'al-Muqammiṣ.

(2) En l'absence du texte original d'al-Muqammiṣ, il est difficile de dire si cette conclusion lui appartient ou si nous avons ici, ce qui nous paraît moins probable, un résumé de la plume de Juda ben Barzilaï.

UN GROUPE SOCIAL : "LES RAFFINÉS" (ẒURAFĀ') (*)

L'intérêt du problème.

Il est intéressant de constater que, parmi les études consacrées à l'Islam social, nous n'en trouvons point sur un groupement social qui semble avoir joué un rôle remarquable, non seulement dans la Baġdād impériale, mais dans presque toutes les grandes métropoles du Monde musulman, de Samarqand à Tolède.

On verra par la suite que les *Ẓurafā'* (1), les « Raffinés », et les problèmes que pose ce groupement social, ne le cèdent nullement en importance, par exemple, à ceux de la *Futuwwa* (2), ou de la *Ḥisba* (3), si l'on veut parvenir à une juste vision de l'Islam social (4).

(*) Nous traduisons le mot *Ẓurafā'* par « Raffinés » à défaut d'une meilleure traduction. On l'a traduit par les « Élégants », les « Délicats », les « Dandys », voire les « Polis », mais les « Raffinés » nous semble, après dépouillement philologique, le meilleur pour cerner le mot arabe.

(1) Voir Brockelmann art. *Waššā'* in *E.I* (I) IV, 1186 ; et *Kitāb al-Muwaššā'*, éd. R. E. Brunow, Leyde 1886 ; réimpression Caire 1324 et 2e éd. 1954, éditions très fautives. Nous avons établi une édition critique, accompagnée d'une traduction française et d'une annotation, effectuée sous la direction du Professeur R. Blachère.

(2) Voir Fr. Taeschner *Das Futuwwa-Rittertum des Islamischen Mittelalters*, dans Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semitik und Islamwissenschaft, 1944, et Cl. Cahen *Mouvements et Organisations populaires dans les villes de l'Asie musulmane au Moyen Age : Milices et Associations de Foutouwwa*, Recueil de la Société Jean Bodin, Bruxelles 1955, pp. 273-288 (bibliographie p. 286). Idem, *Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du Moyen-Age*, dans *Arabica* 1958 fasc. 3 et 1959 fasc. 1.

(3) Sur la littérature de la *Ḥisba*, en détail Colin et Lévi-Provençal *Un manuel, hispanique de Ḥisba : Traité d'Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad Ibn Abī Muḥammad as-Saḳaṭī sur la surveillance des corporations et la répression des fraudes en Espagne musulmane*, Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines t. XXI, Paris 1931.

(4) Que n'arrivent pas à concrétiser les vues trop théoriques de Louis Gardet, *La Cité musulmane vie sociale et politique* Paris, 1954. Voir aussi les justes remarques

Nous devons, d'ailleurs, de prime abord, considérer l'Islam social comme une « société organique », où, nous le verrons, les « Raffinés », pure quintessence de la *Ḫāṣṣa*, s'opposeront à l'immense marée de la *'Āmma*. Leurs options idéologiques, tant en *fiqh* qu'en *kalām*, voire en *taṣawwuf*, viendront nuancer leurs positions. Les uns seront ḥanbalites, parfois extrémistes, les autres šāfi'ītes.

C'est à travers une dialectique d'opposition à la *Ḫāṣṣa*, qu'il nous faut les saisir (1), ces gens de la *'Āmma*. L'opposition entre « Raffinés » et « peuple » est des plus accentuée.

Origine et développement.

Tout d'abord se posera pour nous la question de l'origine du « Raffinement » *(Ẓarf)* ; car il semble bien que le mot, tout au moins à ses débuts, ne recouvre pas entièrement la notion que plus tard dégageront un *Kitāb al-Muwaššā*, ou les anecdotes d'un *Kitāb al-Ẓurafā' wa-l-Mutamāğinīn* d'Ibn al-Ğawzī (+597/1200). Les attestations du mot dans des textes de tonalité archaïsante (v. *Maṣāri' al-'Uššāq*, éd. Caire 1947, pp. 290-292), laissent deviner que le mot n'a pas recouvert les mêmes notions au VIIIe, au IXe, et aux Xe-XIe siècles.

Les textes les plus anciens que nous ayons relevés, incitent à situer l'origine dans les milieux de chanteurs, d'esclaves-chanteuses, de poètes et de *faqīh*-s hedjaziens au Ier siècle de l'hégire. C'est là que nous placerons le point de départ. Et les attitudes, le comportement, l'idéal vestimentaire et gastronomique — élégance et raffinement — constitueront le noyau fondamental

de R. Brunschvig, *Perspectives* dans *Studia Islamica* I (1953), pp. 5-21 et Cl. Cahen, *L'Histoire économique et sociale de l'Orient Musulman médiéval*, dans Studia Islamica III (1955), pp. 93-116 notamment p. 97 (et n. 1) ; Berque, *Leçon d'ouverture au Collège de France*, *Ibla* XX (1957), 217-238.

(1) Nous développerons cet aspect dans une étude à paraître dans les Actes du *Colloque de Sociologie urbaine nord-africaine*, février 1958, sous le titre de « Tensions dans la Cité islamique : Cités et campagnes ». On ne tient pas compte suffisamment des recueils de *Nawāzil* et de *Fatwàs;* v. pourtant R. Brunschvig, *Urbanisme médiéval et Droit musulman*, dans Revue des Études Islamiques 1947, pp. 127-155, et à un moindre degré, R. Le Tourneau, *Les villes musulmanes de l'Afrique du Nord*, (B.I.E. S, I), Alger 1957, et R. Lombard, différentes études parues dans *Annales (Économie, Société, Civilisation)*, notamment sur *L'évolution urbaine*.

de la doctrine du « raffinement » à travers les siècles postérieurs. Ce noyau fondamental demeurera, mais tout autour viendront plus tard se surajouter d'autres agrégats, charriés de l'idéal sassanide dont s'étaient épris les Secrétaires de Chancellerie *(kuttāb)*, et de l'idéal hellénistique, acclimaté par les *falāsifa* dans la Bagdad du IVe siècle (1).

Hedjaz et Syrie.

Bien avant l'avènement des 'Abbāsides, probablement du temps du Calife Walīd II (743-4) (2) si ce n'est plus tôt (3), se sont formés en Irak, à Baṣra et à Kūfa, mais sûrement aussi autour du Calife, des cénacles de « petits-maîtres », de « raffinés » *(ẓurafā')*.

Il faut relever cette formule, dont use *Le Livre des Chansons* pour serrer de près la nature de Ḥammād 'Aǧrad, Muṭī' Ibn Iyās et leurs « compagnies » *('iṣāba)*; il les appelle les « Raffinés de Kūfa » (4).

Si l'on croit l'auteur du Livre des Chansons *(Kitab al- Aġānī)*, déjà le « Raffinement » *(Ẓarf)* s'accompagnait de libertinage *(muǧūn)*, et d'une libre et scandaleuse débauche. Il reprend un mot chargé de concret, de vie tribale, et les appelle *ḫula'a* (5) « en rupture de ban » (sur le plan moral).

Le « Raffinement », on va le voir, s'épanouira et connaîtra son apogée en Irak. Nous relevons le mot, ici et là, dans les

(1) V. Rāzī : *Ṭibb ar-rūḥānī*, (éd. P. Kraus), vol. 1, Caire 1939, pages 21 sqq.

(2) Voir R. Blachère, *Walīd (II)* dans *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*.

(3) Voir J. C. Vadet *Une personnalité féminine du Hedjaz au Ier/VIIe siècle, Sukayna petite-fille de 'Alī*, dans *Arabica* IV (1957).

(4) *Aġānī* (Būlāq), XII, 80, 87, 106-7. Cf. avec la période précédente, le groupe de 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabī'a ; v. Gibrail Gabbur, *'Umar Ibn Abī Rabī'a, his age, life and works*, Beyrouth 1935-9 (2 vol.), Taha Husayn, *Ḥadīṯ al-Arbi'ā'*, Caire 1356 et Ahmad Amin, *Faǧr al-Islām* Caire 1364/1945.

(5) *Lisān al-'Arab*, Caire IX, 429-31 donne pour le mot *ḫalī'* un sens « préislamique » : Celui que la tribu a désavoué. Par la suite, au début de l'Islam, il finit par signifier : Celui qui s'est jeté à corps perdu dans les plaisirs sensuels, la boisson (p. 430) mais aussi les jeux de hasard (p. 431). Le *māǧin*, au contraire (*L. A.* XVII, 286-7), est le débauché qui refuse d'entendre raison. Mot emprunté, selon Sībawayh.

œuvres littéraires. En poésie, Abū Nuwās (1) cite comme idéal « l'orgueil du chanteur et le raffinement du *Zandīq* (2).

Cela ne nous ramènerait-il pas à la source : le milieu des chanteurs, notamment hedjaziens ? En fait, certaines des constituantes du « raffinement » syrien, et surtout irakien, sont empruntées au Hedjaz, lequel a connu, du temps même de 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabī'a, et avec une princesse comme Sukayna, petite-fille de 'Alī, une certaine aristocratie oisive et pleine de sensibilité. Médine, Wādī-l-Qurā, Ṭā'if, « cité d'estivage », Dūmat al-Ǧandal ; autant, sur le sol hedjazien, de lieux fréquentés par l'élite arabe, par les « petits-maîtres ». Lieux que la colonisation arabe a énormément enrichis. Les tributs versés par les peuples conquis s'y déversaient, largement. Un nouvel apport de populations étrangères, plus civilisées que les Arabes, finit par modifier les constituants biologiques de la population aristocratique hedjazienne.

Autant que la poésie, où s'affirment et s'épanouissent la sensibilité et l'esthétique arabes, la musique eut, au Hedjaz des années 60 à 90 de l'hégire, son heure de gloire. Les musiciens, leur heure de célébrité. « Médine est un lieu où ne sont que chant, corde basse, chanterelle » (3).

Certains de ces musiciens sont cités comme de célèbres « raffinés ». Un Ibn Surayǧ, Mekkois, chanteur installé à Médine, se distinguait par son extrême élégance. Et il manifestait parfois même quelques excentricités. C'est ainsi qu'il se promenait à travers les rues de Médine, un long fil à la main, au bout duquel virevoltait une sauterelle (4). Ġarīḍ n'est pas moins célèbre (5). Et tant d'autres. Monde raffiné, mais de mœurs douteuses (6).

Dans ce milieu — qui a fleuri notamment sur les bords du

(1) Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān* 83, *Aġānī* (Būlāq) XII, 93, l. 8-10. V. aussi Madā'inī, *Proverbes* I, 214 : un proverbe qui a cours « plus raffiné qu'un Zandīq ! », confirmé dans une scène vivante (v. Mez, *Abulkasim*, *op. cité* p. 134).

(2) V. *E. I*, art. s.v.

(3) Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Livre de la Poésie et des Poètes d'Ibn Qutayba*, XL (traduit *'Iqd*).

(4) *Aġānī* (Dār Kutub) I, 284 suiv.

(5) *Aġānī* (Būlāq) II, 130, Farmer art. s.v. *E.I. (supl.)* 86.

(6) *Aġānī* XIV, 169.

Wādī-l-'Aqīq (1) — et que certaines pages du *Livre des Chansons* rendent avec ce qu'il a de vivace et d'étonnant — la femme, comme dans tout milieu de « raffinés », semble avoir été autant l'inspiratrice que le juge. Des personnalités féminines, comme 'Ā'iša bint Ṭalḥa (2) ou comme Sukayna, petite-fille de 'Alī, ont joué dans l'acclimatation d'un idéal d'élégance (3) et de raffinement, autant si ce n'est plus qu'un 'Amar Ibn Abī Rabī'a et ses amis.

La Femme, quand elle s'appelait Sukayna bint 'Alī, était le centre d'un cercle mondain, où ses jugements ont toute l'apparence de jugements de valeurs, moraux ou esthétiques (4), et nous rappellent par certains côtés ceux des Dames des « Cours d'Amour » de l'Europe médiévale.

Ces cercles ne sont pas pour autant coupés de l'émotion religieuse. Un 'Abd Allah Ibn Ğa'far (Ibn Abī Ṭālib) a des attitudes empreintes d'une esthétique qu'envahit le sentiment religieux. Il alliait la piété avec le bon ton, dans sa tenue, et le raffinement des attitudes et des propos. Et c'est grâce à la protection de ces hommes de Loi que va fleurir le raffinement des chanteurs.

Analysons le milieu des protégés de 'Abd Allah Ibn Ğa'far : on remarquera une chanteuse : Umm Ğa'far la Médinoise, un chanteur-compositeur Nāšiṭ le Persan, et surtout Sā'ib Ḫāfir. Ce dernier, qui passe pour le maître de Ma'bad serait l'inventeur du luth *('ūd)* à Médine. Ses élèves, à leur tour, vont diffuser, en terre d'Irak, et le chant et la technique hedjaziens.

Les mots « raffinement » *(ẓarf)* et « raffiné » *(ẓarīf)* se retrouvent dans maintes biographies de poètes, de chanteurs, de *faqīh*-s hedjaziens retenus par l'*Aġānī*, à propos de *Ẓabya*, esclave-chanteuse de Fāṭima bint Muṣ'ab Ibn az-Zubayr. Le terme se retrouve aussi à propos d'Abū 'bdd Allah Muḥammad Ibn Ṣāliḥ, poète hedjazien appartenant à l'illustre famille des Banū Ṭālib. De même, à propos du poète médinois Ibn al-

(1) Lammens art. s.v.
(2) *Aġānī* X, 56-8.
(3) J. Vadet, *Sukayna*, art. cité p. 276.
(4) *Aġānī* I, 47, 73, XVI, 13 (avec 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabī'a), II, 129, XIV, 165, 171 (arbitre entre 'Umar et Ğamīl) et XIV, 173-4 (arbitre entre Ğarīr, Farazdak, Kuṯayyir et Nusayb).

Ḫayyāṭ, qu'on nous dit « raffiné, libertin, débauché et auteur de piquantes épigrammes » *(Aġānī VIII)*.

Nous sommes là au premier stade du raffinement (1). Une société de riches ; un milieu économiquement et socialement développé, mais politiquement très amoindri, tenu rigoureusement à l'écart de la grande politique islamique par les Umayades qui, contraignant cette jeunesse dorée du Hedjaz à vivre sur ses terres, la poussaient vers des attitudes d'évasion ou de raffinement qui ne sauraient s'expliquer sans, d'une part, cette politique mûrement réfléchie des Umayyades, et de l'autre le flot d'or qui se déversait sur l'Arabie Occidentale depuis les terres conquises, parfois les plus lointaines, où les aristocraties médinoise et mekkoise avaient d'habiles représentants.

Le « Raffinement irakien ».

On pourrait mieux saisir la réalité sociale de ce groupement en Irak, grâce aux nombreuses données, aussi bien d'histoire littéraire que de vie sociale, qui sont éparses soit dans *Le Livre des Chansons* d'Abū-l-Faraǧ al-Iṣfahānī, soit dans les *Tragiques Destins des Amants (Kitāb Maṣāri' al-'Uššāq)* de Ṣarrāǧ. L'un et l'autre ouvrages, outre qu'ils permettent de vérifier la réalité sociale des données fournies par al-Waššā', apportent diverses précisions sur le « raffinement » en Irak.

L'étude de ces matériaux, nous aide à diviser le raffinement irakien en trois périodes : (I) Le Raffinement naissant ; (II) Le Raffinement triomphant ; (III) Le Raffinement flamboyant, précieux et décadent (2). Cette dernière phase, durant laquelle les raffinés vivront dans la nostalgie du passé, n'est pas la moins attachante ; car le raffinement se tourne désormais vers la Mystique ; et un nouveau comportement, de nouvelles attitudes, plus franchement religieuses, empreintes d'une dignité stoïque,

(1) Relevons l'ouvrage qu'Abū Ayyūb al-Madīnī (IIIe/IXe), a consacré à ce milieu, sous le titre : *Les Raffinés de Médine* (v. Fihrist, 148), et dont des fragments se retrouvent dans *Le Livre des Chansons*.

(2) C'est dans une perspective de psycho-sociologie « lewinienne » que nous voulons les saisir, ces Raffinés, perspective qui n'est nullement en contraction avec ce que F. Braudel appelle l'histoire à « longue durée ».

rendues plus tourmentées par la désagrégation et l'anarchie sociale, se laissent voir (1).

Le Raffinement naissant.

Du début du règne de Saffāḥ (132/750) jusqu'à la fin de celui d'al-Hādī (170/786), une quarantaine d'années s'écoulent durant lesquelles, les institutions nouvelles et les hommes qui les incarnent s'adaptent à un nouvel idéal social, où l'Iran des Sassanides tient une grande place. La plupart des raffinés dont nous relevons les noms dans les ouvrages d'*Adab*, sont franchement des Iraniens : un 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Muqaffa', un Sahl Ibn Hārūn, et tant d'autres. Baṣra, mais aussi Kūfa (où semble avoir régné un esprit tourné vers l'idéal bédouin, et dans lequel se mêlent les conceptions les plus diverses, la *Muruwwa*, la *Furuwwa* et l'amour *'udrī*), jouent un rôle de premier plan.

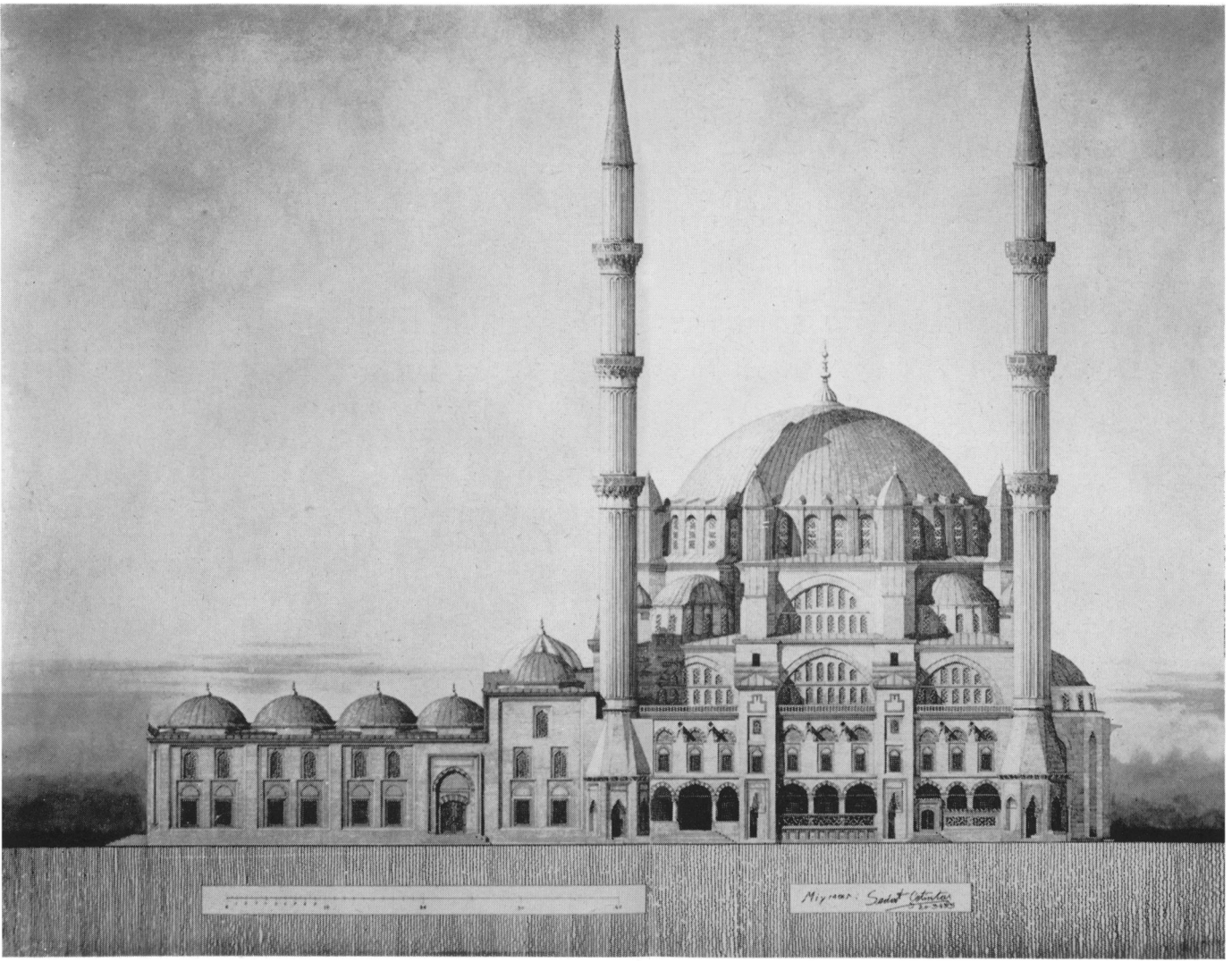
A ces constituantes « arabes », aussi bien bédouines que citadines (2), s'ajouteront, à la suite d'une acculturation, le plus souvent réussie (3) et qui mérite d'être fouillée « sociologiquement » plus qu'il a été fait, des constituantes indo-aryennes, certaines proprement iraniennes. Il ne faut oublier ni l'apport de la classe, en majeure partie venue de territoires non-arabes (iraniens mais aussi araméens), des Secrétaires de la Chancellerie califienne *(kuttāb)*, parmi lesquels se remarquent un auteur qui nous est cher, 'Abd Allah Ibn al-Muqaffa', et son disciple Sahl Ibn Hārūn, ni l'apport fécondant des nombreuses traductions historiques, morales, géographiques, romanesques qui implantèrent et firent triompher un idéal, celui de l'Iran ancien, lequel avait connu, avec Chosroès Ier, une classe de scribes policés, fortement civilisés, partisans convaincus d'une royauté forte.

Cet idéal était venu s'ajouter aux constituantes purement irakiennes, épanouies dans l'Irak du IIe siècle hégirien/VIIIe siècle,

(1) V. Otto Spies, *Muǧuttais Bibliographical Dictionary of the Martyr of Love*, Stuttgart 1936, p. 10, 18, 21 (Le Cadi al-Nawqanī auteur d'un *Kitāb Miḥnat aẓ-Ẓirāf*), 22, 45, 47, 63, 98, 141, 210.

(2) Sur les constantes bédouines dans la vie irakienne v. J. Berque, *L'Univers politique des Arabes*, dans l'*Encyclopédie Française* XI, 13.

(3) R. Blachère, *Regards sur l'« acculturation »*, *Arabica* 1956, p. 247 suiv.



Edirne, Selimiye Mosque.

example also from Northern Anatolia, the mosque which Emir Ismail Oğlu Halil Bey, of the dynasty of the Candar-Oğulları, built in 1363 in Kemâh, a village in the province of Kastamonu, called Halil Bey Câmii. This small building shows a narthex gallery with three arches. The narthex gallery was to reach its ultimate shape within the pattern of the cloistered court. But, again, this pattern was not to be achieved at once : sometimes we find the narthex standing alone at the main entrance to mosques without a court, or, in the absence of a narthex gallery, a court exists surrounded by cloisters on three sides.

The merging of the narthex gallery with those of the court takes some time to reach perfection. The Three-Galleried Mosque in Edirne is the first great success in this respect (plate I *b*).

THE SIMPLIFICATION OF THE PORTALS. — In Seljuk art the portals are the most important feature of the exterior of an edifice, whether a mosque, a medrese or a turbeh ; and this importance is reflected in the height given to the portal and the fact that the stone is covered from top to bottom with geometric figures, abstract plant elements and inscriptions. This conception is followed, in the period of the Principalities, especially in the portals of the Karaman buildings, e.g. in those of the Hâtuniye Medrese (1382) in the Karaman district, or those of the Ak Medrese (1409) in Niğde (plate II). We notice, however, that the Ak Medrese portal differs from the Seljuk design; it tapers upwards and shows a bracket-shaped archivolt moulding encircling the stalactite triangle, an arrangement which clearly cannot be considered a success, as it fails to harmonize with the straight lines.

Similarly, it is impossible to agree with E. Diez in regarding as an improvement the fact that the ornamental motives on the portals of the mosques and medreses of the Karaman period become inflated, protrude, and approximate their natural models.

To sum up, the superabundance of ornamentation exhibited by Seljuk monuments suggests the thought that far from the ornaments existing for the edifice, it is the edifice that exists for the ornaments.

If, now, we wish to see the portal with its ornaments shorn off and tending towards simplicity, we must turn to the architectural monuments of the West Anatolian Principalities, particularly to those erected by the Aydin, Menteşe and Osman-Oğulları. This simplification should be ascribed to the birth of a new artistic conception, rather than to the limited material resources of these principalities. Stone is a symbol of duration and strength. To work it into a kind of lace is to contradict its essential character. From this point of view we may consider the medreses of Orhan Bey in Bursa and Isa Bey in Selçuk (Ephesus), that of Ahmed Gazi (1375) built by the Menteşe-Oğulları in Peçin (plate III *a*), and the Ilyâs Bey Mosque (1404) in Balat, a village in the district of Söke (plate III *b*), as the first successful attempts at a new artistic conception according to which the monuments shed their sculptured ornaments and exhibit simple panels and pure arched curves. The rectangular portal of the Ahmed Gazi medrese has no ornamentation but has some round panels and two concentric protruding pointed arches. The Ilyâs Bey Mosque in Balat village reveals a similar advance towards simplicity. The entrance door to the mosque, the perforated windows which flank it, and the small arches which surmount them are all included under a protruding pointed arch. The same conception dominates the first Ottoman mosques in Iznik and Bursa. This tendency to simplification manifests itself also in the façade of the mosque and sometimes the whole external surface of the building is panelled with marble slabs. The façade of the Isa Bey Mosque in Selçuk, i.e. its west wall, is panelled with sculptured marble blocks. The same is true of the Firûz Bey Mosque (1396) (1) in Milâs (plate IV *a*), the Ilyâs Bey Mosque in Balat and the Ulu Câmi in Birgi. It must be admitted that marble panelled portal fronts were not unknown under the Seljuks, witness the Karatay Medrese in Konya, a Seljuk monument and a typical example of this practice, but the

(1) This mosque was built between 1390 and 1402, a time when the city was under Ottoman rule, by Firûz Bey, a high Ottoman official.

widespread use of marble coupled with simplicity is a characteristic feature of the 14th century.

THE HARMONY BETWEEN OPEN AND BLANK SPACES. — The Seljuk mosques and medreses are surrounded by massive plain walls. To remove this drawback, the architects had hit upon the plan of animating the oppressive blank walls with sculptured ornaments. It is, however, again in the period of the Principalities that we come across the first attempt to lighten the mosque and medrese walls, to transform them in a radical way both from the technical and aesthetic points of view, by piercing their surface with horizontally parallel rows of windows, in order to achieve a harmonious blend of open and blank spaces.

The Yeşil Câmi (Green Mosque) in Bursa and the mosques of Firûz Bey (plate IV *b*) and Isâ Bey present us with a first fine experimental step towards the realization of this new conception. Certain features of those buildings, however, show that a solution of the problem as a whole has not yet been achieved: the first two mosques have no court; the few windows in the drums of the cupolas do not fit the arrangement of the windows in the body of the mosque; as for the mosque of Isâ Bey, though two rows of window apertures are seen to pierce the west front in conformity with the new conception, the court has two rows of windows only on the side of the entrance into the mosque; the windows on the east, west and north walls are raised to a higher level, leaving the lower parts of those walls blank, a fact which shows that the court has not been duly incorporated into the body of the mosque.

THE HARMONY BETWEEN EXTERIOR AND INTERIOR. — The Seljuk mosques and closed medreses must be viewed from the front. Nothing remarkable will appear in them if looked at from the sides or the back. What we see on the outside will not harmonize with what we see inside the building. As no portal is to be found on the sides or at the back to attract the attention away from the lack of proportion exhibited by the high cupola, the disproportion between the latter and the body of the building strikes the eye all the more forcibly. On the

other hand, the architecture of the period of the Principalities begins to show a tendency towards a general harmony between the exterior and interior of the buildings. The later buildings will, through structures composed of spheres and planes as in the Süleymaniye or the mosque of Sultan Ahmed, achieve a total harmony realizing the play of light and shadow, and remove the contrast between the outside and the inside of the buildings.

II. — Achievement

We have seen how, during the period of the Principalities, a number of architectural problems evolved towards a solution. Now, the first great Osmanlı building that combines all the results obtained in the course of that period, is the Three-Galleried Mosque of Edirne, completed in 1447 (plate I *b*). As this building constitutes the first model of Classical Osmanlı religious architecture and serves as a basis for the plan of the great mosques of Istanbul, it deserves a thorough study. It is here that we see, for the first time, the two cupolas of the mosque of Orhan Bey in Bursa, or again of Murad II's Mosque (1426), also in Bursa, merge into a single huge cupola 24 m. 10 in diameter. If we remove the rear cupola of the Orhan Bey Mosque and add one more cupola to each of the cupolas flanking the front one, the pattern of the harem part of the Three-Galleried Mosque is at once realized. The great cupola of the Three-Galleried Mosque originated from the conception of unifying the two cupolas lined up one behind the other. Similarly, the semi-cupola on the Qibla side of the first mosque of the Conqueror (1463-1471) built in Istanbul after the capture of the city, resulted from an attempt to expand still further the grand cupola of the Three-Galleried Mosque.

The present Mosque of the Conqueror was erected in the reign of Mustafa III to replace the former one, which had been destroyed by an earth-quake in 1765; it was inaugurated in 1771. Of the old mosque nothing remains except the cloistered court with the fountain for ablutions *(şadırvan)*, the principal portal

ornamented with stalactites, the two entrances to the outer court, and the bases of the minarets up to the first gallery (1).

It is Agaoğlu Mehmed Bey who, for the first time, investigating a number of Turkish literary documents dating from the 16th and 17th centuries, and some drawings by Turkish and foreign artists representing views of Istanbul, reconstructed the schematic plan of the Conqueror's Old Mosque (plan 7) (2), thus enabling us to establish a connection between the Mosque with the Three Galleries and that of Beyazid (1506). Subsequently, other art historians, reviewing the same subject, have confirmed with some minor corrections Agaoğlu's plan of the Old Mosque (3).

As to the diameter of the cupola of the Old Mosque, our information is completed by a passage in a treatise by an accountant, who played a part in the construction of the Nûr-u-Osmanî Mosque, completed in 1756. This treatise entitled Tarih-i Cami-i Şerif-i Nûr-u -Osmanî (A History of the Holy Mosque of Nûr-u-Osmanî) (4) informs us that of all existing mosques the one with the largest cupola is the Aya Sophia, the second the Süleymaniye, the third that of Ebu'l-Feth and the fourth the Nûr-u-Osmanî. Thus the cupola of the Conqueror's Old Mosque ranks, for size, somewhere between that of Süleymaniye and that of Nûr-u Osmanî. Now, the diameter of the former being 26 m. 5 and that of the latter 25 m. 75, an average diameter of 26 may safely be ascribed to the cupola

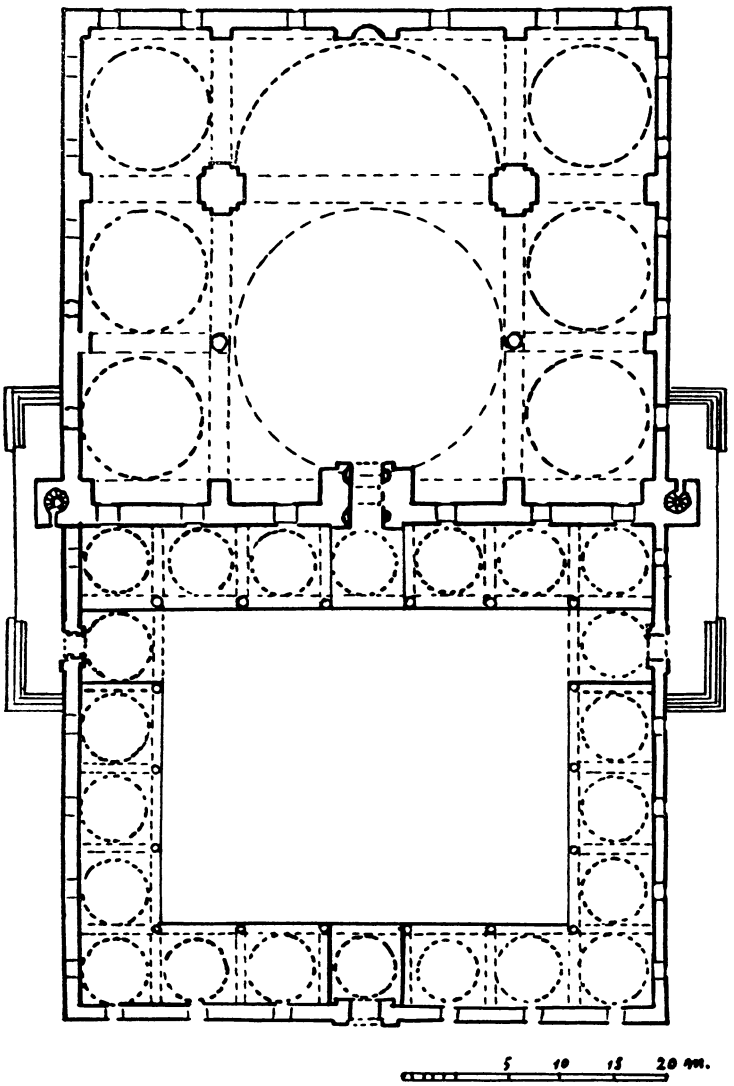
(1) Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fatih Devri Mimarisi* [*The Architecture of the Conqueror's Period*], Istanbul 1953, p. 141.

(2) Agaoglu Mehmet Bey, *Die Gestalt der alten Mehmediye in Konstantinopel und ihr Baumeister, Belvedere* [*The Shape of the Conqueror's Old Mosque in Constantinople and its architect, Belvedere*], Vienna 1926. Translated into Turkish as *Fatih Câmii'nin şekl-i aslisi ve Türk Sanatı mimarisindeki yeri (The original shape of the Conqueror's Mosque and its place in Turkish artistic architecture)*, Review Hayat, no. 45, 1927.

(3) Halim Baki Kunter — Ali Saim Ülgen, *Fatih Câmii ve Bizans sahrıcı (The Conqueror's Mosque and the Byzantine Cistern)*, Istanbul 1339. Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-154.

(4) *Tarih-i Osmanî Encümeni Mecmuası Ilâvesi* [Supplement to the Review of the Commission for Ottoman History]. Istanbul 1335-1337 A. H., p. 14. (Written during the construction of the mosque by a man who was then acting as a paymaster ; a memorandum of 48 pages).

of the Old Mosque. We may now draw the conclusion that the Old Mosque with a cupola surpassing by about 2 m. diameter that of the Three-Galleried Mosque, had achieved, with its



Plan 7. — Istanbul, Old Mosque of the Conqueror (Fatih).

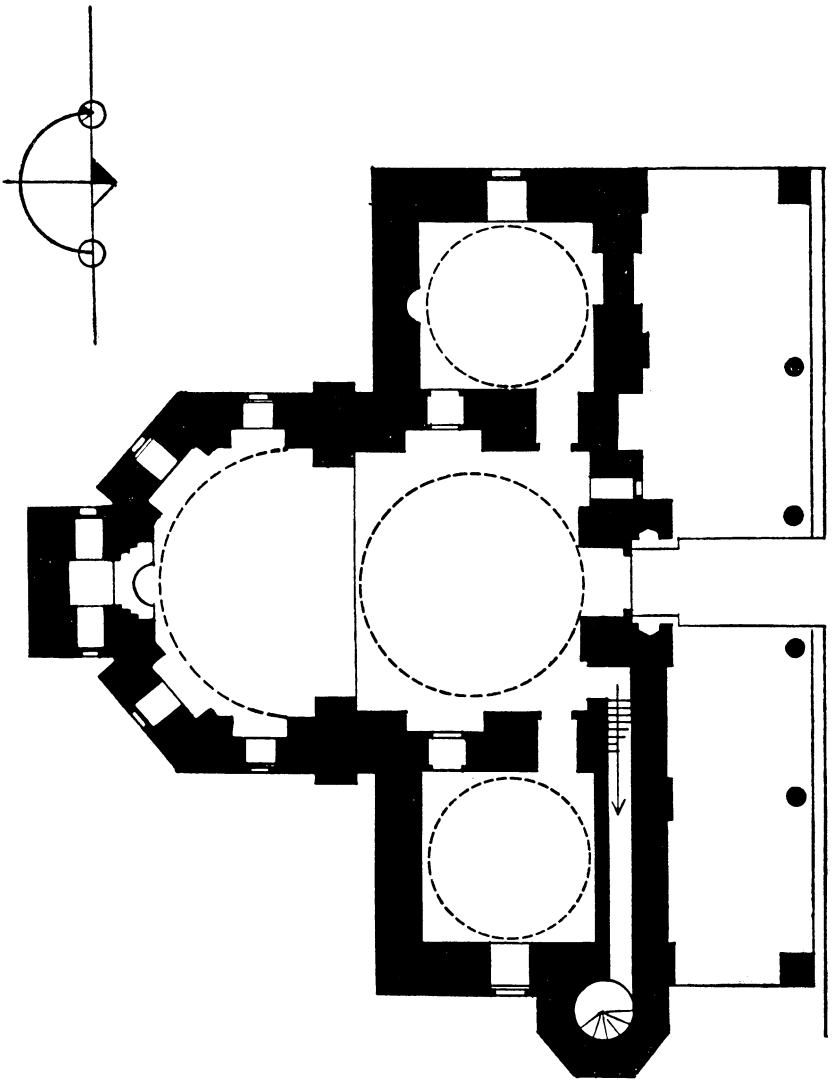
semi-cupola on the south side of the cupola, an inner space of a magnitude unknown up to that time (1).

Let us also draw attention to another building of the same evolutionary process as the Conqueror's Mosque and built before that mosque. It is the Yeşil Imaret Câmii (Mosque with the Green Imaret) in Tire (plan 8). The diameter of its cupola measures 6 m. ; its height from the ground is 12 m. ; it shows on the Qibla side a semi-cupola 6 m. 75 deep (2). We do not know whether Sinan-i Atîk (Sinan the Freedman) saw this little monument, but it seems probable that this small mosque suggested the semi-cupola to the great architect while he was busy with the problem how to enlarge the inner space of the Three-Galleried mosque.

While the urge to achieve a vast and grandiose inner space was driving the Turkish architects to new experiments and innovations, the traditional plan and the customary patterns also continued to be applied, witness the mosques of Mahmut Paşa (1464) and Murat Paşa (1466) with their twin cupolas; or those of Davut Paşa (1485) and Firûz Ağa (1491) with their single cupolas ; or again the mosque of Atîk Ali Paşa

(1) Robert Anhegger, in a study entitled « The Problem of the Conqueror's Old Mosque », published in the *Tarih Dergisi* [*History Review*] of the Istanbul Faculty of Letters (No. 9, March 1954), after stating that Sinan-i Atîk took the Three-Galleried Mosque for his model, writes as follows : « This plan, i.e. that of the Three-Galleried Mosque, gave the architect the possibility to heighten the cubic structure supporting the great cupola as much as he thought fit and as the contemporary technique would permit. On the other hand, the same plan, with the precise ratios existing between its width and depth, did not allow him to enlarge the building ad libitum. And the only solution that could remove the difficulty, Saint Sophia with her semi-cupolas, stood before his eyes ». This is simply to ignore the whole evolution of 'inner space' in Turkish architecture. If Saint Sophia stood before Sinan-ı Atîk as a model to be copied, he could as well have borrowed its two semi-cupolas. No technical obstacle stood in his way. The gradual development hinted at is also proved by the fact that Koca Sinan, before introducing four semi-cupolas, should have adopted three semi-cupolas.

(2) According to a copy of a document dated 1441 A. D. (845 H.) relating to a pious foundation by Yahşi Bey (kept in the archives of the Directorate General of the Pious Foundations in Ankara : Book Nr. 140, p. 182) it may be supposed that this mosque was built at the same date. However, as the mosque shows no inscription, Riefstahl dates it 1334-35, and Celâl Esat Arseven 1325. Riefstahl, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27 ; C. E. Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi* [*History of Turkish Art*], p. 166.



Plan 8. — Tire, Yeşil Imaret Mosque.

(1497) reproducing the type of the Conqueror's Old Mosque, with a large cupola and a single semi-cupola against it. All these buildings are in Istanbul.

Once a semi-cupola had been added to the south side, facing

Mecca (the direction of the Qibla), it became necessary, owing partly to the craving for symmetry, partly to the wish to enlarge the space, to add yet another semi-cupola on the opposite north side. It is to this conception that the Beyazid Mosque, completed in 1506, owes the existence of its two semi-cupolas.

Just as, when the semi-cupola of the Old Mosque of the Conqueror is disregarded, the plan of the Three-Galleried Mosque emerges, so does the plan of the Old Mosque appear when the northern semi-cupola and the branches of the Beyazid Mosque are left out of account. These observations clearly prove that the Beyazid Mosque, with its two semi-cupolas which provide a wide and high inner space, is the logical outcome of an architectural conception, an artistic aspiration, and its inevitable and natural evolution.

It is to the merit of the greatest of Turkish architects, Koca Sinan, to have omitted the semi-cupola to the north, added one semi-cupola right and left, and engaged, with these three semi-cupolas, in a further experiment in inner space. The Mihri Mâh Mosque (1547), facing the landing stage at Üsküdar in Istanbul, is the finest model born of this experiment (1). A year later the Şehzade (Prince's) Mosque, showing four semi-cupolas, was completed in 1548.

The widening inner space of the classical Turkish Mosque began at the same time to gain in height. Take, for instance, the Süleymaniye Mosque (1557), one of the main creations of Sinan: the fact that its central cupola not only shows a widening, but also soars to a height of 48 m. above the ground, rising 6 m. higher than Saint Sophia, is but another manifestation of the importance attached to inner space. And the semi-cupolas which, in the Beyazid Mosque, show a flattening, assume a spherical character in the Süleymaniye in conjunction with the greater elevation reached by the central cupola. To secure an unobstructed view from the ground to the crescent topping the central cupola, a pyramidal shape has been imparted to the

(1) The term 'model' has been used by Diez and Aslanapa, *op. cit.*, p. 303. The Muradiye Mosque (1583-1586) built by the same architect Sinan in Manisa also shows three semi-cupolas.

building as a whole by stepping up, at different levels and along different planes, the external features such as the semi-cupolas and the lateral cupolas, the trunks, and the octogonal supporting towers at the corners (plate V). In the classical mosque the exterior pyramidal structure developed along with the gradual widening and heightening of the inner space. Again, to avoid destroying the harmony in this pyramidal structure, inner aisles and outer galleries, doing duty for supports, have been added on the sides to counteract the thrust of the cupola.

The play of light and shadow also heightens the effect of these combinations; and the slender and elegant minarets, soaring up beside the curved lines of the cupolas, give the whole building a lightness and buoyancy which seem to lift it up into the air.

The problem of the pierced versus the unpierced walls adumbrated in the Three-Galleried and Beyazid Mosques finds its finest solution in the Süleymaniye. The rows of windows which pierce the tympans east and north are not merely intended to light the interior of the mosque: their other purposes are to mitigate the unpleasantly bulbous aspect of the semi-cupolas by two wide arches and so decrease the impression of sameness that the curved lines might convey, and at the same time, to secure a balanced rhythm on the surface framed by those arches. These aesthetic achievements were obtained as a result of the experiments carried on during the period of the Principalities. A mere comparison of the façade of the Süleymaniye with, say, that of the Green Mosque in Bursa may suffice to bring out the richness of the results obtained from tackling this problem.

Now the building which gives the finest solution to all the aesthetic and technical problems we have discussed so far, is doubtless the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne, the work of Sinan's mature years (plate VI). Sinan achieved perfection by revising the combinations he had tried in his former works, eliminating their drawbacks and merging them harmoniously into a faultless whole. The Selimiye was completed in 1575. The fact that Sinan, though he had tried in the Şehzade Mosque a composition with four semi-cupolas, subsequently reverted in the Süleymaniye to two semi-cupolas, and still later in the Selimiye discarded

all semi-cupolas to set the cupola 31 m. 30 across on eight supports, adding squinches at the corners of the octogonal basis thus obtained under the drum of the cupola, and, decorating the tympana of the pediments between the squinches with curves adorned with rows of windows, achieved a harmonious combination of convex and plane surfaces, this fact reveals the grandeur of the artistic insight reached by the great architect.

Suut Kemal YETKIN
(Ankara).

FUZÛLÎ
POÈTE EN TROIS LANGUES

Le poète classique le plus connu et le plus aimé de la littérature turque, vieille de plus de mille ans, *Muhammad ibn Suleyman FUZÛLÎ* (1480 ?-1556), sa vie, sa personnalité et son œuvre, n'ont pas soulevé d'intérêt scientifique jusqu'à ces derniers temps. On ne s'est pas occupé de produire une solide monographie, ni de faire une édition critique de l'œuvre.

Des études sérieuses, appuyées sur des sources sérieuses (1) ont été publiées depuis 1924-5 et ont donné des résultats tout nouveaux (2). Ces études ont été suivies des éditions critiques de *Fuzûli (Fuẓūlī)* et des traductions de ses œuvres écrites en persan. Ainsi, lorsque nous écrivons ces lignes, on a déjà une très riche base pour les « Œuvres de Fuzûlî » (3).

A l'occasion du quatrième centenaire de sa mort, en 1956, afin de rendre ces écrits accessibles à la nouvelle génération intellectuelle turque, qui ne connaît pas les caractères arabes, on a édité, sous le haut patronage et la direction du Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale de la République Turque et Iş Bankasi (Banque du Travail), les meilleurs textes de *Fuzûlî* en caractères latins.

Malgré cette profusion d'éditions, il faut avouer que les mystères qui entourent la vie et la personnalité de *Fuzûlî* ne

(1) *Fuad Köprülü, Fuzûlî* — Hayatî ve eseri (Introduction à *Külliyat-i Fuzûlî*) Istanbul, 1924 ; *Süleyman Nazif*, Fuzûlî, Istanbul, 1925.

(2) *Dr. Abdülkadir Karahan, Fuzûlî* — Muhiti, hayatî ve şahsiyeti. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université d'Istanbul, n° 410, Istanbul, 1949 ; *Dr. Hasibe Mazıoğlu, Fuzûlî-Hafiz*, Publications culturelles de Türkiye Iş Bankası, série I, n° 3, Ankara, 1956.

(3) Voir pour la bibliographie, jusqu'à l'été 1956. — *Dr. Müjgân Cunbur, Fuzûlî hakkında bir bibliyografya denemesi*, Istanbul, 1956.

sont pas complètement éclaircis, et que l'analyse complète de ses œuvres n'est pas encore faite ; les thèmes utilisés par lui n'ont pas été bien étudiés, ses points de vue sur le monde et la vie n'ont pas été bien définis. Enfin l'étude des rapports entre ses trois divans, écrits en trois langues différentes de l'Orient musulman, arabe, persane et turque, celle de ses connaissances, de son habileté, de ses capacités littéraires, ne sont pas encore sorties des limites de simples essais et de l'amateurisme.

Nous allons essayer dans cet article de toucher de près la question des capacités, des connaissances de *Fuzûlî* dans ces trois langues dans lesquelles il a écrit ses œuvres. Bien entendu, nous ne prétendons pas être le premier à traiter ces questions. Mais rien ne nous empêche, pour indiquer les résultats de nos nouvelles recherches, de signaler nos anciens travaux (1) faits d'après des textes et des documents objectifs.

L'œuvre de *Fuzûlî* « *Sah-a gedâ* », est connue par son titre seulement. En dehors de son dictionnaire en vers Çagatay-Persan, ou *Nisab-i Fuzûli*, qui a été trouvé à Lahore et a fait l'objet d'une communication dans un Congrès. quoiqu'il ne soit pas authentique et d'autres ouvrages à lui attribués, comme « *Sohbatu l-esmar* » et « *Jumjumanâme* », on peut diviser ainsi son œuvre :

1. En langue arabe : en vers — *Divan;* en prose — *Matla'u-l i'tikad.*

2. En langue persane : en vers — *Divan, Hafl-jam (Saki-nâme) Enisü'l-qalb, Mu'ammeyat* (existe aussi en turc) ; en prose — *Rind-u zahid, Hüsn-ü-aşk (Sıhhat-u Maraz).*

3. En langue turque : en vers — *Divan, Beng-u bade, Leyla ve Maǰnun, Qirq Hadiłh;* en prose — *Hadikatü-s-su'ada.* La correspondance.

Il ne faut pas négliger deux articles de E. Bertel's (2).

(1) Voir sur nos publications : *Dr. M. Cunbur, op. cit.*, pp. 105, 107, 109, 117, 118 et autres.

(2) a) *Nouveau manuscrit de Külliyat Fuzûlî.* Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S., 7e série. Classe des humanités. Leningrad 1930. b) *Poésie arabe de Fuzûlî.* Bulletin de la Société des Orientalistes du Musée Asiatique, Ve vol. Leningrad 1930. Le premier de ces articles a été traduit pour l'auteur de ces lignes par M. Wilfrid et le second par A. Toptchibachy, à Paris 1950.

Les manuscrits des œuvres de *Fuzûli* en persan et en turc sont généralement connus, et leurs éditions, excepté quelques unes, se trouvent facilement ; une grande partie sont des éditions critiques. Les œuvres en persan ont été très bien traduites, ce qui permet de les étudier, et d'avoir sur elles des idées claires, plus facilement que sur ses œuvres en arabe (1).

Nous allons mettre en évidence le témoignage personnel que notre poète donne dans ses propres œuvres sur la valeur de ses connaissances dans les trois grandes langues de l'Islam.

A cause de ses connaissances profondes, *Fuzûli* fut appelé d'abord « Molla », plus tard « Mevlânâ », ce qui prouve sans doute qu'il reçut une large instruction et une discipline académique. Dans son introduction au Divan Turc, parlant au sujet de ses aptitudes, le poète dit à peu près ceci :

« Depuis bien longtemps j'ai passé ma vie à acquérir les « sciences traditionnelles et positives, et mon existence à posséder

(1) Nous trouvons utile de donner ici la liste des ouvrages sur le sujet, diffusés au cours des dernières années :

A. En persan ou traduit du persan :

a. Divan persan de *Fuzûlî*, traduit par prof. *Ali Nihad Tarlan*. Istanbul. 1950 (Haft-Jam, Sākînâme, la traduction se trouve à la fin de ce volume).

b. *Enis-ül-qalb* (édité par *Süleyman Cafer Erkılıç*. Istanbul 1944.

c. *Risale-i mu'ammiyat-i Fuzûli* (édité par *Kemal Edip Kürkçüoglu*. Ankara. Revue de la Faculté de Langues, d'Histoire et de Géographie. Vol. VII, 1949, n° 1).

d. *Rind-ü Zâhid*, texte établi par *Kemal Edip Kürkçüoglu*. Ankara. Publications de la Faculté de Langues, d'Histoire et de Géographie n° 108. Ankara, 1956.

e. *Sihhat ve Maraz (Hüsn-ü-Aşk)*, traduction de *Abdülbâki Gölpinarlı*. Istanbul. Publications de l'Institut de l'Histoire de la Médecine, 1940).

B. En turc :

a. Fuzûlî Divani, édité par prof. *Ali Nihad Tarlan*. Publications de l'Université d'Istanbul, n° 455, Istanbul 1950. — Fuzûlî Divani, préparation du texte par prof. *Kenan Akyüz*, avec trois collaborateurs). Publications Culturelles de Türkiye Iş Bankasi, série I, n° 8, Ankara 1958.

b. *Beng-ü-Bâde*, texte préparé par *Kemal Edip Kürkçüoglu* Istanbul, 1956.

c. *Leyla ile Mecnun* (Leyla ve Majnun), texte préparé par prof. *Necmettin Halil Onan*. Türk Kültür Eserleri, n° 1, Istanbul 1956.

d. Une œuvre inédite de Fuzûlî : la traduction de *Qirq hadith*, par *Dr. Abdülkadir Karahan*. Selâmet Mecmuası n^{os} 57, 59, 61, 63, 66 et 67 ; Istanbul 1948. Traduction de *Qirq Hadith* par *Kemal Edip Kürkçüoglu*, Istanbul 1956.

e. Fuzûlî'nin Mektuplari, par Dr. *Abdülkadir Karahan*. Publications de la Société des diplômés de la langue et de la littérature turques de l'Université d'Istanbul (Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk dili ve edebiyatı mezunları cemiyeti) n° 4, Istanbul 1948.

« les sciences de la philosophie et de la géométrie. Ensuite je me « suis occupé des sciences du *Tafsir* et du *Hadith*... Car la poèsie « sans science ressemble à un mur sans fondation. Naturellement « le mur sans fondation n'a aucune importance. Je pense qu'une « poésie sans science ne peut exister. Je hais la poésie sans « science comme un corps sans âme » (1).

Dans l'introduction de son Divan persan, il déclare franchement que dans sa jeunesse, à la naissance de son talent, lorsqu'il se consacrait à la poésie, il fut freiné bien souvent par son désir intense de culture et de science.

« Encore enfant... parfois l'amour ardent caché dans ma nature ouvrait devant mon talent les portes de l'amour de la poésie. Seuls mon désir et mes efforts pour acquérir la science et la culture m'ont préservé de cela » (2). Ensuite, saisissant sa propre faculté d'écrire en arabe, en persan et en turc, il note ceci :

« Parfois, j'ai écrit des vers en arabe, j'ai acquis les finesses de la langue par mes poésies. C'était facile pour moi. Car l'arabe était ma langue scientifique. Parfois j'ai fait une course à cheval sur le champ de la poésie turque, j'ai donné du plaisir aux lettrés turcs par les beautés de la poésie turque. Mais ceci ne me préoccupait pas beaucoup. Car la poésie turque était près de mon goût littéraire. Parfois j'ai enfilé des perles au fil de la langue persane, j'ai cueilli le fruit du cœur de cette branche » (3). De plus, dans un endroit de son introduction au Divan Turc, ayant entendu de la bouche d'une jolie femme l'éloge de son talent de poète, il écrit que les gens ont profité de sa prose, de ses poésies, des *mesnevi*, des *qasideh*, qu'ils ont appris par cœur ses *ghazel* en persan, qu'ils se sont réjouis de ses *rejez* en arabe et qu'il ne faut pas priver les belles Turques des fleurs du jardin du Divan Turc. Ensuite, cette belle femme lui répondit que, malgré l'existence de nombreux poètes parmi les Arabes, les Persans et les Turcs, aucun d'eux ne savait et ne possédait l'art de la prose et la poésie autant que lui ! et le poète n'oubliera pas ses paroles (4).

(1) Fuzûlî Divanı. Édition de Türkiye Iş Bankası, p. 6.

(2) Introduction au Divan Persan. *Faik Reşat*, Fuzûlî'nin gayri matbu eş'ari. Istanbul, p. 37 ; comparez la traduction de prof. *Ali Nihad Tarlan*, p. 3.

(3) *Id., ibid.*

(4) Comparez, l'édition de Iş Bankası, p. 7.

Il est certain que le choix du mot « *Fuzûli* » comme pseudonyme, est motivé d'une part par l'originalité, d'autre part par le souci de faire une allusion au degré de perfection de ses connaissances des différentes langues et sciences. Par exemple, dans un *ghazel* de son Divan Turc il dit : « Un fou comme moi arrivera sur la terre difficilement. Mon peintre a brisé son crayon après avoir fait mon portrait » (1). Ayant chanté ce vers en turc, il dit dans son introduction au Divan Persan : « Par la bonté de Dieu, j'ai travaillé pour être un homme ayant appris toutes les sciences et les arts. J'ai trouvé même un pseudonyme qui exprime tout cela. Car « *Fuzûli* », dans le dictionnaire est le pluriel de *Fâẓl* de la science et de l'art » (2). Tout ceci n'est pas seulement pour exposer sa formation et ses pensées, sur ses acquisitions scientifiques ou artistiques, mais aussi pour montrer qu'il était indispensable à un savant ou à un artiste de connaître ces trois langues au XVIe siècle dans le monde islamique turc, ce qui est un point très important.

Effectivement, jusqu'à ces derniers temps, dans l'Orient musulman et particulièrement dans les pays turcs, les savants et les poètes n'ignoraient pas la langue persane pour la poésie ni la langue arabe pour les sciences. Parfois même, ceux qui n'étaient pas Arabes ont apporté une psychologie et un aspect nouveaux dans les ouvrages religieux, didactiques ou littéraires écrits en langue arabe. C'était une nouveauté de voir les savants et écrivains turcs produire des œuvres exemplaires en arabe ou en persan, langues qu'ils connaissaient au point de les utiliser couramment, et d'écrire souvent en ces deux langues.

A la même époque on rencontre très rarement des Arabes ayant produit des œuvres en turc ou en persan. Il est prouvé maintenant qu'à l'époque de la littérature classique turque, les intellectuels turcs ont été de brillants polyglottes (3).

Il est opportun de noter ici les noms de savants et d'écrivains des XVIe-XVIIe siècles comme *Kemal Paşa Zâde* (mort en 1534),

(1) Édition de Iş Bankası, gazel CXCIII, p. 317.

(2) Divan Persan. Introduction, édition de *Faik Resat*, p. 44, traduction d'*Ali Nihad Tarlan*, p. 7.

(3) Comparez Dr. *Abdülkadir Karahan*, Islâm Türk edebiyatında Kırk Hadîs. Publications de l'Université d'Istanbul nº 587. Istanbul 1954, p. 133 sqq.

Ebüsuut Efendi (1490-1574), et leurs œuvres scientifiques en arabe ; le Cheikh-ul-Islam *Ârif Hikmet* (1786-1859) et ses poésies en arabe ; le Sultan *Selim I*er (1512-1520) et ses poésies en persan ; les *divan* et les *divance* de *Nef'î* (1572 ?-1635) et *Nabî* (1642-1712) écrits en persan (1). Le manuscrit unique de l'historien du XVIe siècle Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî (1541-1600) intitulé *Mejma ul-bahreyn*, que nous avons dans notre bibliothèque personnelle (2), montre que les autres poètes turcs de l'époque de *Fuzûlî* sont les égaux des poètes persans de leur temps.

Dans chaque œuvre de *Fuzûlî* on peut voir sa personnalité scientifique et sa capacité littéraire. Nous avons des preuves de ses connaissances et de ses sentiments profonds déjà dans la première *qasideh* de son Divan Turc qui est un *tawhid*, ainsi que dans d'autres textes. Nous trouvons partout les vues psychologiques et physiologiques (ou plus exactement concernant l'âme et le corps) qui correspondent aux vues de son temps : dans *Rind-u-Zâhid* — la mystique et les conseils ; dans *Haft-jam (Saqinameh)* — la compréhension mystique du vin (le vin c'est l'Amour) ; dans *Leyla ve Majnun* — la haute philosophie mystique ; dans *Ḥadiqat-us-su'ada* — l'histoire du Prophète et la tragédie de Kerbéla ; dans ses *Divan* et son *Enis-ül-Qalb* ses vues sur le monde et la vie, sa philosophie et sa morale. Nous voyons aussi dans son œuvre tout ce qu'il possédait des sciences de son époque, allant des mathématiques à la médecine, de la littérature à la théologie. Mais n'oublions pas que Fuzûlî ne connaissait ces sciences que dans la mesure du développement qu'elles avaient atteint en son temps.

M. E. Bertel's, qui s'est penché avec attention sur les poésies de *Fuzûlî* en arabe, remarque qu'elles ne peuvent pas occuper une place importante dans la littérature arabe, malgré

(1) Comparez : Yavuz Sultan Selim Divani (traduction du prof. *Ali Nihad Tarlan*, Türk klasikler nº 8, Istanbul 1946 ; *Nef'î*'nin farsça divani (traduction du même Istanbul, 1944 ; cf. encore Dr. *Abdülkadir Karahan*, *Nabi*, Türk klasikleri, nº 19, Istanbul 1953 ; Dr. *Abdülkadir Karahan*, *Nef'i*, Türk Klasikleri nº 32, Istanbul 1954.

(2) Nous avons présenté au Congrès de Türk Tarih Kurumu, en avril 1956, l'œuvre de *Majma ul-bahreyn* de Mustafa Âlî qui, fier de son art et manifestant ses inquiétudes dans son introduction, donne ensuite 53 *gazel* de Hafiz et autant de ses propres *gazel*, montrant ainsi ses propres capacités d'écrire en cette langue.

leur caractère arabe, étant parfaites au point de vue de la forme et de l'application de leur auteur à suivre une marche logique ; malgré leur extréieur parfait qui donne du plaisir au lecteur, elles se montrent insuffisantes au point de vue des sentiments et de la sincérité (1). Dans ces poésies arabes, on trouve, dans le détail, des traits communs avec ce que le poète a écrit en turc ou en persan. S'il a, dans sa poésie arabe, le désir d'exprimer un sens précis, une nuance, par des termes anciens, le résultat peut être comparé à ses œuvres écrites dans les deux autres langues. Si la langue est arabe, le style et la forme des poésies ressemblent au persan et au turc. En même temps, il y a très peu de vers en arabe de *Fuzûlî* qui puissent soulever un intérêt particulier.

En ce qui concerne ses poésies persanes, leur confrontation avec ce qu'il a écrit en turc les met au deuxième plan, quoiqu'on ne puisse pas douter que *Fuzûlî* connaissait le persan aussi bien que n'importe quel autre poète de l'Iran. Ses œuvres sont les témoins véridiques de ce que nous avançons. Dans ses *qasideh*, ses *gazel*, ses *qit'a* ou ses proses, la clarté du style, les figures de rhétorique, prouvent sa maîtrise de la langue. Il donne l'impression d'aimer et de préférer dans la littérature persane les poètes et écrivains tels que : *Hafiz Širazi* (mort en 1388), *'Abd-ur-Rahman Jami* (1414-1492), *Hoseyn Va'iz Kašifi* (mort en 1505). On sent dans son style et ses idées surtout l'influence de *Jami*. *Fuzûlî* aurait pu être un poète de premier rang dans la littérature persane, si cette littérature n'avait pas produit de grands génies. Connaître très bien une langue, l'utiliser correctement, l'écrire sans faute, l'employer en littérature aussi bien que les autochtones, ne donne pas le droit de figurer au premier rang. Bien qu'il ne diffère pas dans sa technique et dans ses thèmes des poètes persans, *Fuzûlî* reflète par son âme, dans ses œuvres en persan, sa personnalité turque. Naturellement ses vues littéraires et ses idées personnelles le justifient. Il croit aux liens très étroits entre les mots et leurs sens. C'est pourquoi « le sens et le mot sont comme l'âme et le corps ; ils ne sont pas indifférents l'un à l'autre » (2). Ainsi, en donnant de l'importance au sens, il n'a pas

(1) E. Bertel's, *op. cit.*, p. 1 sqq.
(2) Dans le début de l'introduction au Divan persan.

vu d'inconvénient à chercher en persan ou en arabe le sens turc du mot. On peut même se demander s'il n'a pas pensé d'abord en turc les poésies arabes ou persanes qu'il a ensuite écrites dans ces langues. On peut le dire encore, en constatant certaines nuances dans les mêmes images, le même état d'âme, la même association d'idées, la même pensée, dans ses œuvres écrites dans les trois langues. Il est facile de trouver chez Fuzûlî des traces brillantes du nomadisme turc, ou l'ombre qui en est projetée sur ses œuvres. Il aurait voulu donner, comme le grand poète mystique *Jalal-ud-Dîn Rûmî (Mevlânâ)* (1207-1273) un mouvement, une légèreté, une dynamique à la poésie statique persane. De plus, il a eu certainement du mal à exprimer en persan l'agréable originalité de ses poésies turques. Car la pensée de l'Islam, sa Foi, différents sujets et des règles littéraires dépassant les possibilités d'imitation, ont rendu difficiles le style et la langue. Lui-même, par exemple, dans l'introduction du Divan Persan, parlant de ses *gazel* dit : « Il y a eu de tels moments quand, toute la nuit jusqu'au matin, ayant goûté le poison de la veillée et la poitrine saignante, j'ai écrit après avoir trouvé un sujet, un point ou un mot nouveau. A l'aube, quand je remarquais la coïncidence avec d'autres poètes, et que je voyais que les autres avaient écrit la même chose, j'effaçais ce que j'avais déjà écrit. Il y a eu d'autres moments, du matin au soir, où noyé dans l'océan de mes pensées, j'ai percé des perles avec le diamant de la poésie, que personne n'avait jamais dit. Si ceux qui l'ont vu me disaient : « ce sujet, ce point n'est pas compréhensible, ce mot n'est pas employé par les gens », le sujet perdait sa valeur pour moi, et même en prenant la plume en main, je ne le mettais pas sur le papier. Quel état étrange ! Ce qui a déjà été dit, c'était dit ; le mot qui n'a pas été prononcé, parce qu'il n'a pas été prononcé, ne s'écrit pas » [1].

Dans l'Anatolie Orientale, la tradition d'écrire les poésies en arabe, en persan et en turc était répandue depuis *Qadi Burhan-ud-Dîn* (1344-1399). Les poètes azeri, étant restés entre les deux célèbres centres créés par les Ottomans à l'Ouest et par les

(1) Introduction au Divan Persan. Édition de *Faik Resat* p. 42-43, traduction du prof. *Ali Nihad Tarlan*, p. 6.

Timourides à l'Est de leur pays, tout en écrivant en leur dialecte, employaient aussi le persan et créaient des *divan* et des *mesnevi* en cette langue. *Fuzûlî*, resté indépendant, ne s'est pas contenté d'écrire en arabe ou en persan, mais il a employé l'arabe dans ses œuvres en persan, et l'arabe et le persan dans ses lettres en turc.

En général le trait allégorique de *Fuzûlî* se manifeste plus clairement dans ses œuvres en persan. Lui-même dit que sa nature a un penchant vers l'énigme et la devinette. L'amour pour l'allégorie et pour la présentation de beaucoup de choses par métaphore et symbole est très fort en lui. Une grande partie de ses thèmes a été déjà utilisée dans les littératures persane et turque. Des sujets comme *Ḥadikat-us-su'ada*, qui est un *maqtel-i Huseyn* (l'assassinat de Huseyn) ; *Leyla ve Majnun*, qui est l'histoire d'un amour platonique, ont été plusieurs fois traités dans les littératures arabe ou persane, de même la traduction de *Qirq hadith* en turc a été empruntée à la littérature persane. Mais ce qui est important, ce n'est pas le rapprochement ou la ressemblance — fait très fréquent dans les littératures orientales — ; l'important, c'est l'utilisation du sujet, les nouveautés des formes et des expressions littéraires. Sous cet angle, *Fuzûlî* est un poète de première classe, d'une rare qualité. Il a turquisé le sujet, et il a su l'adapter au goût et à la sensibilité azeri. Si ses moyens d'expression, ne lui ont pas valu une place tout à fait exceptionnelle dans la poésie turque, du moins l'ont-ils mis parmi les plus grands. Si l'on fait une comparaison entre ses œuvres écrites dans les trois langues, les plus expressives et les plus faciles à comprendre sont les œuvres turques.

Le turc de *Fuzûli* est la langue littéraire de l'Azéri. Sa grammaire et son vocabulaire sont restés en général azéris. Mais l'influence du milieu de l'Iraq-i arabi, où il fut élevé, ses relations culturelles et des facteurs politiques l'ont orienté vers le dialecte osmanli, à partir de l'âge d'homme et encore plus tard, certainement après la prise de Bagdad par les Ottomans (1534). Il est malaisé actuellement de dire comment et dans quels ouvrages a commencé cette introduction du dialecte osmanli, et de tirer ce changement au clair. Car, d'une part les relations entre ces deux dialectes ne sont pas encore bien étudiées, d'autre

part dans les manuscrits de *Fuzûlî* il y a des erreurs dues au dialecte des copistes, ce qui augmente encore les difficultés.

Fuzûlî est parmi les classiques de la littérature tuque le poète le plus connu et le plus lu. Et encore aujourd'hui, partout où vivent des Turcs, ses œuvres passent de main en main. A tel point que nous voyons certaines de ses productions presque entièrement modifiées. Par exemple *Hadiqa...* étant traduit en turc oriental, certains orientalistes ont considéré cet idiome comme la langue maternelle de l'auteur (1). Ensuite, quelque temps après sa mort (1573), un écrivain osmanli s'attribuant le titre *Hadiqa muslihi* (celui qui corrige...) a complètement remanié cette œuvre et, bien entendu sans avoir les capacités littéraires de l'auteur, se l'est attribuée finalement à lui-même (2). C'est pourquoi nous sommes autorisé à dire qu'il est trop tôt pour décider lequel de ces manuscrits en Osmanli ou en Jagatay est écrit par Fuzûlî lui-même, ou par ses copistes ou imitateurs.

On rencontre beaucoup de mots et d'expressions arabes et persanes dans les œuvres turques de *Fuzûlî*, mais cela ne dépasse pas l'emploi de ces deux langues à son époque par n'importe quel poète osmanli, comme par exemple *Bâki* (1526-1600) ou *Hayâlî* (mort en 1557). Il ne sera même pas exagéré de dire que Fuzûlî a employé beaucoup moins de mots étrangers que les autres, quoiqu'une étude comparative n'ait pas encore été faite. En principe les langues littéraires, soit Osmanli, soit Azéri, sont nées par emprunt de mots, d'expressions et même de règles grammaticales aux langues arabe, persane et turque ; et il était normal que les poètes de cette époque fussent pénétrés des particularités de ces langues. En même temps, nous trouvons chez *Fuzûlî* des mots proprement turcs, auxquels il a donné vie, et qui forment actuellement l'ornement de notre langue. Le trésor de son vocabulaire est plus riche que celui de ses contemporains. Ayant employé la langue parlée azérie et les mots usités dans son milieu, *Fuzûlî* les a introduits dans ses textes, et cela constitue une autre particularité de sa langue.

(1) Cf. W. Pertsch. Verzeichniss der türkischen Handschriften in der Bibliothek zu Berlin. Berlin 1889, § 235.

(2) *Mehmet Rauf b. Şeyh Amâ Vaiz* dont le manuscrit, prétendu de sa propre main se trouve à la Bibliothèque *Millet* d'Istanbul, section historique n° 232.

Aucun poète de langue azérie n'a atteint à une aussi grande harmonie ni à des expressions aussi belles. Parfois il a bouleversé les mesures et les rythmes établis en poésie. Très souvent, il ne fait même pas sentir l'emploi d'un mot arabe ou persan, qu'il a introduit pour le rythme. Il n'existe presque pas de poète qui ait employé aussi naturellement, sans forcer, le jeu de mots, les métaphores de l'art littéraire turc. Il montre une telle maîtrise dans son jeu littéraire que très souvent il faut faire un effort pour comprendre comment il a procédé et où il a caché le sens de sa métaphore. Il n'a jamais voulu que ceci puisse nuire à la clarté de son texte. Il s'est haussé au rang des plus grands poètes turcs par ses sentiments naturels, sa sincérité, sa vivacité, et surtout par sa puissance d'expression littéraire. Cette aisance et cette supériorité, surtout lorsqu'on parle de son œuvre turque, viennent non seulement de ses thèmes, mais de l'inquiétude de son âme ; et le caractère le plus clair de son être, ce qui dominait tout son art, est le sentiment de l'Amour. En suppliant Dieu, en écrivant l'éloge du Prophète, *Fuzûlî* pleurait sur les hommes malheureux ; en supportant le malheur, en méprisant les biens de ce monde, il a mis très haut ses préférences morales ; en chantant son infinie tristesse, il nous a fait sentir la brûlure de cette flamme d'Amour. Fuzûlî, dans la littérature turque, veut dire aussi Véritable Amour.

* * *

Fuzûlî, chez qui l'amour a atteint une maturité exceptionnelle, évoque, dans son Tavhid au début de son Divan en turc, parmi les choses créées par Dieu et propres à susciter en nous une admiration qui dépasse l'entendement, les belles à figures de fées. Dans ses ghazels, le poète chante encore ces beautés, dont la mise en terre après leur décès, comparée à leur formation à l'aide de cette même terre, fait méditer sur l'œuvre créatrice de Dieu ; de même Fuzûlî trouve la cause de la création d'Adam dans l'amour de ces belles semblables aux fées.

L'on peut alors se poser cette question : Fuzûlî a-t-il reçu ses premières impressions d'amour du visage, des yeux d'une belle, réellement existante ? Ou bien, comme Molla Djamı (1414-1492), s'est-il jeté dans l'amour mystique à la suite d'un roman

d'amour ? Bref cet amour, transcendental quant à ses résultats, était-il concret, matériel et humain ? A cette question, nous pouvons, d'après les indices glanés dans son œuvre, répondre : oui.

Dans les ghazels — dépassant sept cents — des divans en turc et en persan de notre poète, la voix que nous entendons n'est d'un bout à l'autre qu'un épanchement d'amour. Fuzûlî qui, de temps à autre, nous fait sentir que l'objet de son amour est un être de chair et de sang, ne manque pas, la plupart du temps, d'élever cet être au rang d'une entité mystique et transcendante. Toutefois l'on ne doit point croire que cet amour qui, suivant Gibb, « est aussi pur que si des anges du ciel l'éprouvaient l'un envers l'autre » (1), soit irréel. Les documents objectifs et les attestations psychologiques que sont ses propres poèmes nous ont amené à la conception suivante :

Fuzûlî, dans sa prime jeunesse et au début de son adolescence, a passé par l'épreuve d'un amour qui, tel un violent orage, l'a vivement secoué jusqu'au plus profond de son être. Cet amour qui n'a pas eu, vu les conditions de l'époque, la possibilité de se matérialiser, à force d'être refoulé et de grandir avec le temps, s'est forcément idéalisé pour aboutir au niveau de l'amour divin. Mais cet amour humain de Fuzûlî, lors même qu'il reste au second plan, ne laisse pas de se faire sentir. L'on peut même dire que son effet est sensible dans la beauté de ses poèmes. Voici encore une autre possibilité : Fuzûlî est amoureux de la beauté. Mais la belle qui le tient enchaîné n'est pas une amante qui le domine sa vie durant : il aime et tombe amoureux des belles qu'il rencontre sur son chemin. Ainsi, il assouvit son besoin d'un amour unique en la personne de plusieurs objets d'amour ; et il réalise peut-être la beauté parfaite en ces amours isolées qu'il réunit ou synthétise en lui. C'est pourquoi plusieurs de ses vers peuvent être pris dans ce double sens. Nous pouvons nous aider, à titre d'exemples de vers de ses ghazels dans son Divan turc : « O Lune, satisfais-moi, une nuit, en m'accordant ton étreinte, ô étoile de la Chance, ne prends pas sur toi le fait de mon péché » (2).

(1) *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, II, p. 84.

(2) Édition « Iş Bankası », p. 326.

« Mon aimée, ne sors pas dans les rues au milieu de la nuit ; tu es, ô Toi, la lune de la pléiade de la beauté ; ainsi le fait, pour toi, de sortir la nuit dans les rues serait un défaut pour toi » (1). Il est vrai que ces sortes de vers contenaient une harmonie et une symétrie définies, et comportaient également des jeux d'esprit propres à ce temps. Toutefois nous ne manquons pas de constater que le poète extériorise ses désirs par des vers plus libres et plus licencieux :

« O belle, dont le teint épanoui parmi les soieries ressemble à l'eau de rose dans le cristal, ta poitrine est comme de l'eau pure et tes boutons semblent des bulles sur cette eau... » (2). « Les médecins, lorsqu'ils écrivent leurs prescriptions, m'ont inclus parmi leurs malades, et m'ont ordonné, comme remèdes, les lèvres des belles semblables aux fées » (3).

Il ne faut pas oublier que de tels passages ne peuvent être qu'une étape dans l'amour spirituel de Fuzûlî, sur lequel nous nous arrêterons. Mais nous ne pouvons qu'indiquer que le poète, tout comme les autres mortels, a vécu les tourments enivrants de la passion humaine et a chanté cet état d'âme dans un style et avec une attitude qui, à la société, ont paru doux et émouvants.

Nous pouvons affirmer un point avec certitude : Fuzûlî, au long de sa vie, s'est laissé emporter par ce sentiment sans égal appelé amour ; c'est vraiment pour cette raison qu'il a acquis l'immortalité. Lui-même nous dit : « Je sais que le chemin de l'amour est plein de dangers ; mais même si ce chemin devait me conduire à la mort, je ne m'en détournerais point » (4). Il savait fort bien qu'atteint de cette passion, il tomberait dans les pires difficultés. Amoureux, il perd la raison ; et d'autres lui retourneront les sages conseils qu'il leur a naguère prodigués. Mais qu'importe ? Pour lui, la félicité éternelle, la richesse infinie, le bonheur sans fin, ne peuvent provenir que de la beauté de l'aimée. C'est pour cette raison qu'aux yeux du poète, une fois que la

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 145.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 452.
(3) Izmir, Biblioth. de Salepçioğlu, No 2600, feuille 31b.
(4) Édition « Iş Bankası », p. 426.

passion humaine a atteint une telle plénitude et une telle hauteur d'âme, elle ne peut se défaire de cet amour, cesser de s'enivrer de la joie d'un autre monde. Alors que le commun des mortels ne vise que la possession charnelle, l'amant qui s'est élevé à ce stade psychologique sublime et contemplatif, sans se soucier des plaisirs corporels, ne demande rien d'autre que de s'adonner à l'admiration. Ainsi Fuzûlî perçoit que cet arbre dont les racines se nourrissent dans le sol et dont les rameaux verts s'ornent de célestes fleurs, se divinise en s'élevant et se disjoint lentement de ses bases matérielles et physiques. L'amour humain, en face des impossibilités et des difficultés matérielles, une fois divinisé, est capable de vaincre tous les obstacles. L'amant est alors comme entré dans le climat doux, ensorceleur, plein de rêves, d'un paradis enchanteur. Le sujet et l'objet se confondent. Tous les contrastes s'estompent et s'effacent. Dans cet état de l'âme l'antipathie n'a point de place ; tout est charme et attirance ; les dissensions avec le milieu s'annihilent, l'amant et l'objet de sa passion sont réunis. Cet affranchissement de la matière devient à un moment même, si prononcé qu'on va jusqu'à croire que la possession peut dévaluer, abaisser le nom même de l'amour. Il est vrai que cette évolution psychique ne se fait pas d'emblée. Fuzûlî, tout comme beaucoup d'autres personnes, a atteint ce degré de maturité dans la joie mystique en passant par des phases successives. Arrivé là, il nous envoie ce message : « L'amour est cette joie qui exprime la perfection : le feu du vin, la voix émouvante dans le « ney », tout vient de là. En vérité, l'esprit d'unification est le siège même de l'amour ; là, roi et mendiant ne peuvent être qu'égaux » (1).

Nous pouvons affirmer que les tendances générales de l'époque du poète aussi bien que son tempérament timide, sa vie intérieure intense, se sont prêtés fort bien à de pareilles vues mystiques sur l'amour. D'autres causes sont également en jeu : les nécessités matérielles de la vie, la fatigue, l'impuissance de la science à satisfaire son besoin métaphysique, la peur inspirée par l'idée de la mort et, enfin, la puissance miraculeuse de l'éternité promise par l'amour mystique, tout ceci l'amène à un

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 125.

amour transcendant, dépassant l'expérience. Toujours pour les mêmes raisons, il a trouvé le secret d'introduire dans la littérature turque les termes de « Djan » et « Djanan » (l'amant et l'aimé). Aucun poète n'a exprimé avec autant de sincérité et de spontanéité qu'il était prêt à sacrifier jusqu'à son existence à l'objet de sa flamme.

Fuzûlî a su unifier ces deux termes, ces deux entités dans la mesure où il atteint le plus haut degré de l'amour, où il dépasse dépasse le désir de la possession matérielle. En même temps il a su trouver la fin même de son existence comme reflétée dans l'aimée *(djanan)*. Il y réussit pleinement dans son œuvre « Leyla et Medjnun », célèbre Mesnevi. Le poète nous dit ici par l'entremise de Leyla : « Je ne savais guère que l'amour fût un mal funeste ; je vois que c'est une triste aventure » (1). Mais il juge cette vue toute ordinaire et banale, et sa propre attitude ne se reflète que dans la personne de Medjnun. Ne nous dit-il pas, en effet, dans un des quatrains de son Divan turc : « Vouloir s'élever par la seule voie d'une science stérile est vain. Tout, dans le monde est amour. Une science creuse n'est que racontars et vains propos... » (2). Où Fuzûlî a le mieux exprimé l'amour divin, c'est dans son « *Leyla et Medjnun* ». Dans cette œuvre mystique, Medjnun symbolise l'âme d'un doctrinaire, d'un membre d'une secte mystique. Le poète, à travers le personnage de Medjnun, essaie de franchir les limites de l'univers mystique par les élans d'une passion divine. Il parvient à nous faire saisir comment Medjnun, à travers la beauté physique symbolisée par Leyla dont ce dernier est amoureux, se hausse peu à peu jusqu'à la cime d'un amour éternel et à l'existence éternelle. L'amour dans l'univers, une fois porté vers le Créateur, s'élève, se divinise. Arrivé à cette hauteur, il retourne pour toujours à l'objet périssable de son amour et s'unit à son âme. Ainsi nous pouvons dire que Leyla n'existe que dans la prise de conscience de Medjnun (3).

(1) *Külliya-ı Fuzûlî, Leyla ve Mecnun*, Istanbul, 1924, p. 280.
(2) Édit. « Iş Bankası », p. 485.
(3) Dr. Ali Nihad Tarlan, *Leyla ve Mecnun Mesnevisi* (thèse de doctorat inédite), Türkiyat Enstitüsü, No 1.

Plus tard, nous voyons enfin Medjnun s'élever jusqu'au suprême stade de « l'unification en Dieu », et s'ériger en héros en pleine possession de son être équilibré (« nefs-i mutmainne »). Celui-ci a vaincu les chaînes et les attirances qui le rattachaient au monde, et représente le vainqueur qui brandit le drapeau de l'amour triomphant. Il s'exprime ainsi : « O aimé, si moi, je suis moi-même, alors toi, qui es-tu ? Ou bien si toi, tu es toi-même (c'est-à-dire à part de moi-même), alors qui suis-je ? Étant donné que moi, je suis plein de toi, cette dualité sur la voie de l'unité n'est guère agréable » (1).

C'est pour cela qu'il a allègrement supporté les vicissitudes et les tourments de l'amour. Il est allé même jusqu'à rechercher ces tourments. Il a voulu souffrir de la séparation de l'aimée, il a désiré voir son enveloppe charnelle s'amincir de souffrance et s'alléger comme une plume, et il a exprimé le désir de s'envoler, avec les vents du matin, pour retrouver son aimée partie au loin. Il ne désire pas que ses plaies soient ointes du baume de la consolation. Cette douleur, il la considère comme une flamme allumée par les mains de l'aimée et il ne veut pas qu'elle s'éteigne. Il aime les tourments que lui cause l'amour,et refuse les remèdes qu'on peut lui prodiguer. Car la seule chose qui puisse le tuer, l'anéantir, c'est la peur de guérir de ses maux d'amour.

Il ne souhaite point voir ses vœux comblés : « Il se console par ses rêves. L'union avec l'aimée ne le satisfait point. Et même il ne croit pas qu'en dehors de son cœur, il puisse exister, pour lui une aimée » (2).

C'est cette passion effrayante qui a fait dire à Fuzûlî dans son Divan en langue persane : « Pourquoi demandes-tu, en ton amour, l'état de mon âme ? (Voici brièvement ma réponse :) La moelle qui brule dans nos os est une vipère noire » (3).

D'après lui ce tourment ne comporte point de remède : « O Fuzûlî, ce thérapeute a trouvé maints remèdes à tous ces maux ; mais aucun n'a pu être encore inventé pour mon mal (ma plaie) » (4). Ceux qui ont pénétré le secret de l'amour ne se

(1) *Leyla et Medjnun*, p. 338.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 334.
(3) *Divan persan*, Manisa-Muradiye (Biblioth. No 2668), p. 22.
(4) Édit. Iş Bankası, p. 245.

plaignent guère de la passion d'aimer. L'ascète qui ne se doute pas du plaisir d'aimer ne sait pas cela. Le secret et le plaisir d'aimer ne peuvent être goutés que par leurs connaisseurs. Ainsi Fuzûlî est un de ces connaisseurs, un poète-amant initié.

Telle est sûrement l'une des causes de la vogue de ses poèmes. Tous les secrets seront dévoilés, tous les désirs seront comblés dans l'immensité de l'amour divin.

L'amour a vraiment embrasé cet enfant de l'Irak ; il a exalté et embaumé ses poèmes.

L'amour de Fuzûlî, à certains points de vue, ressemble à celui de deux grands poètes, dont l'un a vécu trois siècles et l'autre deux siècles avant lui. Ce sont Mevlânâ Djelâleddîn Rûmî (1207-1273) et Hâfiz Chîrâzî (mort en 1388). Ces deux grandes figures doivent être évoquées ici, non pas parce qu'ils sont l'un un poète turc et l'autre un poète persan exceptionnels, mais parce qu'ils ont, eux aussi, travaillé le thème de l'amour avec une grande puissance d'art et de sentiment.

Les ghazels de Mevlânâ, ceux surtout de son *Divan-i Kebir* sont comme les fruits merveilleux d'un climat d'amour divin : « L'amour est tout autre que cent peuples ou nations ; la religion ou la nationalité, pour les amants, c'est Dieu ». Ainsi s'exprime Mevlânâ. Il ajoute encore : « Tant qu'on est avec Toi, la mort même est douce ». L'amour de Mevlânâ est plus ardent que celui de Fuzûlî même, c'est une sorte de fureur, d'extase et de flamme sacrée. Dans son « Sanduka » (rehaussement en bois sur la tombe) il s'écrie : « Le Créateur m'a créé du vin de l'Amour. Même si je meurs, cet amour c'est moi ». Notre but ici n'est point de traiter de l'amour dans Mevlânâ, mais de faire ressortir en quelques mots ses rapports avec celui de Fuzûlî, nous nous abstenons de donner des exemples. Ce point a été traité dans un de nos écrits publiés récemment sur « *l'Amour dans Mevlânâ et Fuzûlî* » (1).

Ici nous ne voulons que faire ressortir les quelques points suivants. Bien que Mevlânâ et Fuzûlî soient en tête de ceux qui ont suivi la voie de l'amour et ont dépassé les plaisirs charnels

(1) Abdülkadir Karahan, *Mevlânâ ve Fuzûlî'de aşk*, Çağrı Dergisi, Konya, vol. II, 1958, p. 4 et suiv.

et quotidiens, Fuzûlî n'a point rejeté complètement ses attaches avec la raison ; par contre, Mevlânâ a rompu complètement avec elle et s'est jeté de tout son être dans le flot de l'extase divine. Tous deux ont chanté l'amour divin et éternel ; ce qui les sépare, ce n'est point une question de nature, mais seulement de degré. C'est pourquoi dans l'Orient islamique Mevlânâ est connu pour être l'amant-saint alors que Fuzûlî est considéré comme le poète-amant. Leurs idéaux sont communs ; l'aimé vers lequel ils se précipitent est identique. Leur inspiration commune provient du même climat spirituel. La différence consiste dans la mesure avec laquelle ils maîtrisent leurs émotions et leur comportement.

Le style de Fuzûlî élaborant le thème de l'amour se rapproche surtout de celui de Hâfiz. Cette ressemblance est plus évidente dans les ghazels de Fuzûlî où il est traité de l'amour humain. Tous deux sont d'accord sur les difficultés propres à l'amour divin et à la force d'âme nécessaire pour y faire face. Tous deux croient également qu'ils ont été créés, prédestinés à cet état d'amour. En lisant leurs ghazels on peut le mieux saisir cette ressemblance entre les deux poètes. L'admiration de Fuzûlî envers l'aimée, on la retrouve chez Hâfiz. Ce dernier dit aussi au Créateur : « Demande le cœur et la vie de celui que Tu as créé, et prends-les de suite ». Et il s'exprime encore en ces termes : « L'aimé a transformé notre maison en un lit de fées ; et, comme les fées, il est loin de tout défaut ». Mais, alors que Fuzûlî désire ne point voir ses vœux comblés, chez Hâfiz, on trouve le souci d'éviter les vents maléfiques de l'automne. On ne retrouve pas chez Hâfiz, dans la même mesure et avec la même force, le désir de résister à la souffrance, si bien exprimé par Fuzûlî. En dépit de la communauté de contenu et de forme chez ces deux artistes de la plume, et bien que l'idée soit assez répandue que Fuzûlî serait resté sous l'influence de Hâfiz, des études récentes faites en ce domaine ont montré la différence qui existe entre les deux poètes (1).

Le fait, pour Fuzûlî, de ressentir l'amour comme un aliment véritable nécessaire à son âme, de ne point désirer voir ses

(1) Hasibe Mazıoğlu, *Fuzuli-Hafiz*, Ankara, 1956, p. 333 et suite.

vœux d'amant comblés par crainte de voir cette passion se relâcher ou même s'éteindre, et de s'accommoder fort bien de la renonciation et de la nostalgie propres à l'amour non-satisfait, dénonce un état psychologique qui ne s'observe que chez fort peu d'artistes, très rarement. Cette particularité est l'une des principales caractéristiques de notre poète.

En résumé, l'amour de Fuzûlî est né, peut-on dire, des émotions humaines. Tout comme l'œuvre d'un architecte-ingénieur, qui prend pour matériaux simplement de la terre, de la pierre et du bois, mais qui, malgré cela, ne laisse point de susciter une admiration infinie, cet amour nous apparaît dans toute sa plénitude et dans toute sa nature exceptionnelle. Cet amour, pouvons-nous conclure, avec tout ce qu'il comporte de mélancolie et de tristesse, de rêves et de nostalgies inassouvis, de tendresse et de douleur, en tant qu'expression et attachement à une existence divine, à un Créateur éternel, a de tout temps conquis, en maître souverain, l'esprit et l'âme des humains.

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IBN AL-'ARABĪ'S SHAJARAT AL-KAWN

(Concluded)

Now when Allah gave command for a handful of earth to be taken for the creating of Adam it was taken from all parts of the earth, from good ground and from evil ground (1), but the clay for our Prophet, Muḥammad—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—was from the site of the Ka'ba, which was the place for faith in Allah—exalted be He. Then that clay was kneaded with the clay for Adam—on whom be peace—so that the clay became like leavened dough. Had it not been for that [mixing of the clay for Adam with the clay for our Prophet] men would not have been able to make response (2)

(1) This story occurs in various forms. The oldest form seems to be that when Allah had disposed of the objections of the angels to His creating Adam (II,30/28), He sent Gabriel to get Him some clay from the earth, but the earth refused to give any. Michael was then sent with no better result. Finally He sent the Angel of Death who grabbed up some black, some red, some white clay, as a result of which we have still three races of men, the black men, the white men and the reddish-brown men (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I, 87 ff.; *Tafsīr*, I, 159; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 51,52; ath-Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, p. 17). The popular *Daqā'iq al-Akhbār*, p. 3, says that man's body was formed from dust gathered from the various climes (*aqālīm; iqlīm* being from the Greek κλίμα), his head from the dust of the Ka'ba, his chest from the quarters *(aqṭār)* of the earth, his back and belly from the dust of Hind, his hands from the dust of the East, his feet from the dust of the West. As-Suyūṭī, *Durar*, pp. 4,5, gives from Ibn 'Abbās a much more elaborate scheme showing from what parts of the earth the dust for his various bodily members came. (See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I,i,5,6; *Musnad* Aḥmad, IV, 400, 406, and al-Baiḍāwī's commentary on Sūra II,30/29). The Rabbis also had tales of the various earths that were used in man's creation (*Sanhedrin* 38ab, Targum Yer. on Gen. II, 7; *Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer*, xiii), as did the Christians (*Schatzhöhle*, ed. Bezold, p. 3; Solomon of Basra, *Book of the Bee*, ed. Budge, cap. xiii).

(2) The response was that which they made when Allah took a covenant *(mīthāq)* from them at creation. See fasc. X, p. 73, n. 2.

on the Day of the Witnessing, and this is the meaning of his saying—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—"I was a Prophet when Adam was still between the water and the clay" (1).

Thus the essential nature and the blessedness of all who are brought into existence are from the mite they contain of his existence. So when He calls on them to bear witness against themselves in the presence of His witnesses, He will say: "Am I not your Lord? and they will answer: Yea, verily" (VII,172/171). In this manner that leaven of the Prophet lies hidden in their atoms, and their tongues, by Allah's permission, pronounce the spoken *talbiya* (2). Those whose clay was able to receive the leavening, in accordance with what had been foreordained for them, will find that leavening continuing with them, abiding within and keeping them company till it becomes perceptible and appears in recognizable form, so that the meaning thereof becomes manifest as it responds to that summons, whereby the light of the spiritual meaning shines forth upon the corporeal body that is over against it. Thus the body, after having been dark, becomes shining, and its productive members glow, for they are rightly guided and do works of obedience. But those whose clay is evil and unable to accept that leavening will be affected by the leavening only in sufficient measure to make it recognizable at the witnessing. It will appear in that acknowledgment (3), but in an inactive

(1) As the Urmensch Muḥammad was, of course, pre-existent. This Tradition, according to which he told his Companions that he was already a Prophet when Adam was still in the primaeval slime, will be found in Ibn Sa'd *Ṭabaqāt*, I,i, 95; at-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi'*, II, 282; *Musnad* Aḥmad, IV, 66, 127, 128; V, 59, 379; Ibn Taimiyya, *Rasā'il*, II,340, and the *Mishkāt*, p. 513. Similarly among the Jews it was believed that the name (i.e. the personality) of the Messiah was one of the things created before the foundations of the world (*Pesahim* 54a ; *Nedarim* 39b; *Midrash Tehillim*, xciii § 3; I Enoch XLVIII, 6), and in the New Testament we read of the Saviour that he was "before the worlds" (Col. I, 15-17; Heb. I, 6; John I,1-3; VIII, 58; XVII, 5; I Pet. I, 20).

(2) The *talbiya* consists in pronouncing the phrase *labbaika Allāhumma*, which is said to mean: "Here I am, at Thy service, O God".

(3) He means that at the *mīthāq* both those destined for bliss and those destined for damnation acknowledged that Allah is their Lord, but in the one group it worked actively to promote their movement towards bliss, while in the other group it was inactive and availed them naught.

state. Then as time goes on the leaven will become corrupt from the corruptness of that clay. Thus it is like one with whom something has been deposited and then what was deposited is withdrawn because he was not worthy to guard it, for it, I mean true faith, is a deposit in the hearts of unbelievers, but only in the hearts of believers does it remain. This is the meaning of his saying—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—"Every child who is born is born with the natural religious disposition *(fiṭra)* according to which Allah created it" (1). This it is which keeps them steady in the true faith: "He said: 'Am I not your Lord?'" They answered: 'Yea, verily'" (Cf. VII, 172/171). So they continue steadfastly in the *talbiya* and they utter a response [to Allah's words] by that leaven of the Prophet which circulates in the various parts of their atoms. All this was in the foreknowledge of Allah—exalted be He—and is part of the carrying through of what He has decreed. So such as persevere in that acknowledgment do not pass on to denial and disavowal.

All that comes to pass in the tree of the Universe in the way of growth and increase, in the bearing of flowers and fruits, [all these things] are thoughts, obscure yearnings, clear tastes, pure secret longings, and the breath of seeking forgiveness. All that whereby good works will be increased, conditions of life purified, verdure caused to grow in the meadows of men's souls, all that which is for the salvation of men's hearts, all the degrees of secret mysteries attained, all the sweet discourses which mount up, all the foliage of friendliness that comes forth, all the breezes of cheerfulness which arise, all that is built on its stem, such as the high ranks attained by those who have special skills, the positions gained by those who have special

(1) The commonly quoted form of this Tradition is: "Said the Apostle of Allah: 'Every child who is born is born in the *fiṭra* (or according to one line of transmission — in the *milla*), but his parents make him a Jew or a Christian or a polytheist" (at-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi'*, II, 20; *Musnad* Aḥmad, II, 253; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 341; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 52, 53; as-Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmi' aṣ-ṣaghīr*, No 6356). *Fiṭra* means the natural religious disposition with which one is born; *milla* (the Syriac *mell'thā*) means one's religion or sect. Bukhārī III, 307 says expressly that Islam is the *fiṭra* which is natural to every human and was the original religion of mankind.

privilege, the stages reached by the truly righteous *(ṣiddīqūn)*, the confidential intercourse enjoyed by those allowed to draw near *(muqarrabūn)*, the things seen by the lovers *(muḥibbūn)* (1), all comes from the fecundation of that shoot of Muḥammad, is kindled from his light, expands from the progress of his river al-Kawthar (2), is nourished by the fruit-pulp of his beneficence *(birr)*, is fostered in the cradle of his guidance. For this reason his blessedness has been made general, his mercy made perfect for all creatures, for: "We sent thee not save as a mercy to mankind" (XXI,107).

So when He had spread out [this earthly] dwelling on his account, had constrained night and day to labour on his account, had given shape to things, and set the borders to all lands; when He had made His remembrance a thing to be extolled, had given a reminder of His secret and His decree, had taken a covenant *(mīthāq)* [with all creatures], that they should trustingly believe in Him and take hold of the cord of His truth, He revealed the bridegroom of His law *(sharī'a)* to those who would follow him and to those who would separate from him (3). Then by his prophetic office He sealed [the succesion of] the Prophets, by his scripture (i.e. the Qur'ān) the [series of] Scriptures, by his mission the [sending of] apostles (4). There-

(1) Both here on earth and in the Hereafter there are among the pious certain grades *(darajāt)*, marking stages of spiritual advancement *(manāzil)*. Three of these grades are mentioned here. In the Qur'ān Enoch, Abraham, Joseph and the Virgin Mary are mentioned as among the *ṣiddīqūn*, and certain angels and Jesus as among the *muqarrabūn*.

(2) This may mean only "the river of his abundance", though the *Kawthar* mentioned in Sūra CVIII,1, is generally taken to mean a very special river in Paradise, which is reserved exclusively for Muḥammad and his friends. See aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXX, 207.

(3) There is a reference here to the two great bodies of Muslims, the Sunnis and the Shi'ites. The *sharī'a* is the Muslim rule of life, and the Sunnis are those who follow the *sunna*, or custom of the Prophet, therein, while the Shī'a are the dissidents.

(4) Sūra XXXIII, 40 states that Muḥammad is the seal *(khātam)* of the Prophets, i.e. of the series of prophets sent by Allah, which began with Adam and came to an end with Muḥammad. Consequently his message to men as contained in the Qur'ān must, in Muslim belief, be the last Scripture, and the rule of life embodied in his *sharī'a*, or religious law, be the final directive for human conduct. It will be remembered that Jesus promised to send the Paraclete, who since he was to

fore whosoever seeks protection under the protection of his *sharī'a* is safe, and whosoever takes hold of the cord of his religion *(milla)* will be kept [from evil]. When Adam—upon whom be peace—made entreaty thereby he was secure from blame (1). When it was transferred to the loins of Abraham the friend [of Allah], the fire became cold for him and a safety (2). When Ishmael's fate was entrusted to it he was redeemed by a wondrous sacrifice (3). The fruitage of the shoot of the Companions of the Right Hand is: "He loves them and they love Him" (V,54/59), and the fruitage of the shoot of the Companions of the Left Hand is: "Allah will not punish them while thou art with them" (VIII,33). The fruitage of the shoot of "those who precede", "those who are brought near" (LVI,10) is: "Muḥammad is the Apostle of Allah, and those who are with him are violent against the unbelievers but compassionate among themselves" (XLVIII,29).

Thus his blessedness has been made general for all climes, and his word has been perfected. Adam was created in the form of his name, for his name is Muḥammad (MḤMD), so

abide with men for ever (John XIV, 16 ff), and would teach them all things (John XIV, 26; XV, 26; XVI, 13-15), would be the seal of Divine revelation, and provide the final rule of life. Mani, the Persian sage, who in 277 was put to death under Bahram II, and who also asserted that he was the last of the prophetic succession and the preacher of a universal faith, claimed to be the promised Paraclete. (See the references in H. C. Puech *Le Manichéisme*, p. 62 and pp. 146,147). Since Muḥammad in Sūra LXI, 6 applies the Paraclete promise of Jesus to himself, this claim to be the seal of the prophetic series is probably to be connected therewith.

(1) Ibn Taimiyya, *Tawassul*, p. 91 tells a story of how after his rebelliousness Adam prayed for forgiveness *bi-ḥaqqi Muḥammad*, and al-Ḥuraifīsh in *ar-Rauḍ al-fā'iq*, p. 276 tells how it was by seeing the name of Muḥammad on the Divine Throne that Adam was led to beg forgiveness in the name of Muḥammad.

(2) Sūra XXI, 52/51-69 tells the story of how, when Abraham was cast into the fire for breaking the idols, Allah bade the fire be cool for him and harm him not (cf. XXIX, 24/23), a story which is told also in the Rabbinic writings, e.g. *Pesahim* 118a; *Midrash Haggadol*, ed. Schechter XI,28; *Seder Eliyahu zuta*, xxviii.

(3) The story of Abraham's preparations to offer up his son in sacrifice, and how the son was redeemed in a wondrous manner, is told in Sūra XXXVII, 102/100-107. The name of the son is not mentioned there, though Isaac is mentioned in vv. 112, 113, but Muslim orthodoxy says that the son of v. 107, who was redeemed, was Ishmael. The story, of course, is dependent on the Biblical account in Gen. XXII, 1-18.

Adam's head is the circle which goes round about to make the form of the first M in his name, the sticking out of his arms at the side is in the form of the Ḥ, his belly is in the form of the second M, and his two legs spread apart are in the form of the D (1). Thus the creation of Adam was brought to completion in accordance with the form of the name of Muḥammad—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace. Now our claim that things which came to be were made to be in accordance with the shape of his form, is because the world is really two worlds, the world of *mulk*, and the world of *malakūt*. Now the world of *mulk* is as the world of his corporeality, and the world of *malakūt* is as the world of his spirituality. Likewise the density of the lower world is as the density of his corporeality, and the refined nature of the upper world is as the refined nature of his spirituality. Thus on this earth there is no mountain among those set on the earth to be stabilizers (2), but is in the position of his bones which were appointed to be the stabilizers of his body, nor is there therein any swollen sea (3), continuous

(1) This is another element of the Urmensch idea. i.e. of Muḥammad as the archetypal man. It was a very popular idea, as we see from *Daqā'iq al-Akhbār*, p. 3, and curiously enough was one of the matters raised by the Isma'īlī *dā'īs* in their attempts to suggest doubts in the minds of believers. (See de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druses*, I, p. LXXXVI). There are analogies to this idea of an archetypal man in Indian, Iranian, Jewish, Christian, Manichaean and Mandaean teaching, but the closest parallel for correspondences between the parts of the body and the letters of a name is the Gnostic account of the form of *Aletheia* (see Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I, xiv, 3; Hippolytus, *Refut.* VI, 39). As de Sacy remarks in his note, the resemblance of MḤMD to a human form appears only when it is written vertically, and with the older forms of the letters. Muslim savants remark that, of course, Adam when he was first formed was lying prone, and did not stand upright till the breath of life was breathed into his nostrils, so that in his first state he was like the horizontal name MḤMD.

(2) *awtād* are properly "stakes" or "pegs" used to keep something that has been stretched out from rolling up. In Sūra LXXVIII, 6, 7 Allah speaks of having stretched out the earth as a flat expanse and set the mountains thereon to keep it out flat.

(3) The phrase "swollen sea" occurs in Sūra LII, 6. The "continuous or discontinuous" is literally « running or not running », and refers to the two types of seas, the open seas and the land-locked seas. That there are salt-water seas and sweet-water seas is also a Qur'ānic notion (cf. XXXV, 12/13), and the peoples of the Near East were well aware that there were "bitter waters" (cf. Exod. XV, 23; James III, 11).

or discontinuous, sweet-watered or not, but is in the position of the blood in his body, running in the runnels of the veins, or standing in the channels of the limbs. [The moisture of the body] differs also in taste, for there is some that is sweet, e.g. the moisture of saliva, by whose juice is sweetened all that is eaten and drunk, and there is some that is salty, e.g. the tears of the eyes, by which the eye-ball is protected, while other is bitter, e.g. the ear wax which guards the ears from insects and flies which get into them but are killed by that liquid. In the earth of his body there are parts where nothing grows, as in barren and salty swamp land nothing grows and it is impossible to make anything grow. Then, as in the earth there are great lakes from which rivers flow and streams from which men derive benefit, so in like manner in the earth of his body there are thick blood vessels, such as the aorta which sends the blood along and from which the arteries spread out through the rest of the body.

Then in the upper world, the world of the skies, Allah set the sun to be a lamp to give light to the people of earth (LXXI, 16/15), and likewise He has set the spirit *(rūḥ)* in the body to give light to the body thereby, so that when it departs at death the body is darkened, just as the earth is darkened when the sun disappears. Then He set the intelligence *('aql)* to be as the moon which shines in the heavenly vault, at one time waxing and at another waning. At its beginning it is small, being the new moon, just as the intelligence is but small when man is little, but increases like as the moon increases to the night of its fullness, after which it begins to decrease. Thus [the *'aql*] reaches its maturity when forty years have been completed but then begins to decrease in flexibility and strength. Then He placed in the sky the five stars, namely the five stars of retrograde motion (1), which run backwards, to which correspond the five senses, viz. taste, smell, touch, hearing and seeing.

(1) These stars of retrograde motion are referred to in Sūra LXXXI, 15, and are said to be the planets Mercury, Venus, Jupiter, Mars and Saturn. See aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXX,47.

Then in the world of the heavens He set a Throne and a Footstool (1). The Throne He brought into existence and set as something to which the hearts of His servants might turn, a place to which they might raise their hands, not as a place where He Himself might be or as a symbol of His attributes, for in the case of the Merciful One—exalted be He—the "sitting" (2) is but one of the qualifying, descriptive epithets applied to Him. These qualifying, descriptive epithets are connected with His essence, whereas the Throne is one of the things He created. It is not attached to Him, does not touch Him, He is not borne by it, and He has no need of it. As for the Footstool, it is the store-house *(wi'ā')* of His secrets, the quiver for holding His lights, and the heavens and the earth are the depository for all that is in the circle of His wide-spreading Footstool (3). So He has set man's breast to be as the Footstool, for in it are stored all the attainments of knowledge. It stands like a courtyard at the gate of the heart and the soul, with two doors opening to them, so that all good proceeding from the heart or evil proceeding from the soul is stored in the breast from which it proceeds to the productive members. This is what is meant by the words of the Most High: "and what

(1) In the Qur'ān the two words *'arsh* and *kursī* are used indifferently for the throne of an earthly sovereign or for the Throne of Allah. In the Traditions, however, a distinction is made between the *'arsh*, which is His Throne, and the *kursī* as His footstool, but whereas in in the Bible the heavens are His Throne and the earth His footstool (Isa. LXVI, 1; Matt. V, 35; Acts VII, 49), Muslim savants regard them both as being celestial entities, and offer a variety of opinions as to their relation to one another.

(2) In seven passages the Qur'ān refers to Allah as taking His seat on His Throne after the work of creation was complete. (Cf. VII, 54/52; X, 3; XIII, 2; XX, 5/4; XXV, 59/60; XXXII, 4/3; LVII, 4). This is doubtless based on ideas learned from the older religions, for Isaiah, e. g. tells how he saw God, high and exalted, sitting on His throne (Isa. VI, 1), and we find the same thing in both Ethiopic and Slavonic *Enoch*, and in the *Ascension of Isaiah*. It inevitably raised the question how an omnipresent deity could be at any moment seated in a particular place. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* IV, iii, 1 is aware of the danger of thinking of God as sitting, after the fashion of a man, and in Islam this became the famous problem of *istiwā'* (see al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, pp. 210-212 and 290, *Ibāna*, p. 8; an-Nasafī, *Baḥr al-Kalām*, pp. 26, 27; al-Ghazzālī, *Iqtiṣād*, pp. 24-27; Ibn Khuzaima, *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd*, pp. 68ff.; Ibn Taimiyya in Ibn Saḥmān's *Bayān al-Mubdi'*, pp. 77-160). Ibn al-'Arabī comes back to this problem again and again.

(3) The wording here is drawn from Sūra II,255/256.

is in the breasts comes forth" (C,10). The heart He set to be as the Throne. His Throne in the heavens is something known about whereas His throne on earth is a lodging place, and thus the throne of the heart is a nobler thing than the Throne in the heavens, for that Throne is not wide enough for Him, does not bear Him, does not perceive Him, but this throne is something towards which at all times He looks, to which He reveals Himself, on which He sends down from heaven His bounty, [for He has said]: "My heavens were not wide enough for Me, nor My earth, but the heart of My believing servant is wide enough for Me" (1).

When He set Paradise and Hell in the world of the hereafter, the one for bliss and the other for torment, the former as a treasure house of good and the latter as a treasure house of evil, He likewise appointed that virtue which is at the core of the heart to be a Paradise for His believing servant, for it is the place where Allah is seen, where He reveals Himself, where confidential intercourse with Him takes place, where degrees of spirituality are attained, and where the lights burst forth. He also set the soul to be as man's Hell, for that is where evil bursts forth, where Satan whispers and waits, the place where the darkness is.

Then He set the Tablet and the Pen (2) as a copy of the book of the Universe *(kawn)*, and of bringing into being *(takwīn)*, and of what was *(kān)* and what will be *(yakūn)* till the Day of Judgment. Also He appointed the angels to copy out what they are bidden copy regarding erasing and retaining, death and life, increase and decrease. So [man's] tongue is as it were the pen and his breast the tablet. Whatever the tongue utters the memory writes on the tablets of the breast, and whatever the desire of the heart exhales into the breast is set forth by the tongue as by an interpreter. The senses He appointed to be the messengers of the heart which takes note of what arrives thereby. Thus hearing is a messenger, being the heart's spy.

(1) This is not from the Qur'ān but is an uncanonical saying much used by the Ṣūfīs.

(2) See fasc. X, p. 69, n. 2 to whose references add *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, III, Nos. 3306-3309.

Seeing is a messenger, being the heart's guardian. The tongue is a messenger, being the heart's interpreter. Then He set in man something which would be an indicator of His Lordship, would testify to the truthfulness of Muḥammad's message, and rule that human palace *(haikal)* (1), since it has need of a ruler. That something is the spirit. Its ruler is one, and the spirit is invisible, shapeless, uncontrolled by anything in the body. Nothing moves in the body save by its knowledge and will, and the body neither feels nor touches save by it. All this is an indication that the worlds must have a Ruler, a Mover who can be but one, aware of what is happening in His kingdom, capable of causing it to happen. It is also an indication that He can have no shape, cannot be likened to anything, is invisible, uncontrolled, undivided, may not be touched or felt or taken hold of, for: "there is nothing like Him, though He both hears and sees" (XLII,11/9).

His messengers to His creatures are two, one who appears and one who is hidden. His messenger who appears is Muḥammad, the Apostle of Allah, but His messenger who is hidden is Gabriel. It is Gabriel who brings His revelations to His people (2), but they do not perceive him nor recognize him. Likewise the ruler of this human *haikal*, i.e. the spirit, has two messengers, one which appears and one which is hidden. The messenger which does not appear is the will, which is as Gabriel giving revelation to the tongue. The tongue gives expression to the will and so is in the position of our Master Muḥammad—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace. Then just as He has set within you an indicator of the genuiness of Muḥammad's prophetic office and the trustworthiness of his message, He has set in you also an indicator that the *sharī'a*

(1) *haikal* means both "palace" and "temple" (as do its cognates in Akkadian, Hebrew and Syriac), and the meaning here would seem to be only that the body is the « big house » in which the spirit lives.

(2) Gabriel is for Islam the angel of revelation (*mal'ak al-waḥy*, cf. II,97/91 ; XVI, 102/104; XXVI, 192 ff.), which is a deduction from Judaeo-Christian teaching where Gabriel is the *angelus interpres* who is the revealer to men of the Divine purpose. He appears as the angel of revelation also among the Mandaeans (*Ginza R.* I,89-94 ; II,24 ff.).

he (i.e. Muḥammad) brought ought to be accepted as trustworthy and his custom *(sunna)* ought to be followed.

At the root of the hands stand five things each made up of five. The first root is that on which it is built, and so the Apostle of Allah—upon whom be Allah's blessings and peace—said: "Islam is built on five things, on (1) testifying that there is no deity save Allah and that Muḥammad is His apostle; (2) saying prayers; (3) giving the legal alms; (4) fasting during [the month of] Ramaḍān; (5) going on pilgrimage to Allah's sacred temple (1). As there is a second root, so the incumbent daily prayers are five in number (2). As there is a third, so legal alms are incumbent when one has an assessable amount of five things (3). As there is a fourth, so Muḥammad the Apostle of Allah, and those who are with him (XLVIII,29), viz. Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī make five, counting the Apostle of Allah—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace. As there is a fifth, so the *Ahl al-Bait* (4) are five, counting the Apostle of Allah — upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace, viz. 'Alī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain. Now since the principles of religion are to maintain the principles of his *sharī'a*, to love his Companions, and to show affection for his kinsfolk, Allah has set in your members something which is an indication of those five things. Thus the five (5) things on which Islam is built are represented in you

(1) These are the five "pillars of Islam". See A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, pp. 26 ff.

(2) The reference is to the statutory five prayer-times each day, viz. dawn prayer *(ṣalātu'l-fajr)*, midday prayer *(ṣalātu'ẓ-ẓuhr)*, afternoon prayer *(ṣalātu'l-'aṣr)*, evening prayer *(ṣalātu'l-maghrib)* and night prayer *(ṣalātu'l-'ishā')*.

(3) Just as income-tax in a modern State does not have to be paid on incomes below a certain amount, so the legal alms *(zakāt)* of Islam is due only after one's wealth in money or possessions has reached a stated amount. The five kinds of possession on which this is to be reckoned are (1) cattle; (2) grain; (3) fruits; (4) precious metal; (5) merchandise.

(4) Literally "people of the house", i.e. the Prophet's family. Here it is limited to his immediate family. Fāṭima was his daughter. 'Alī, her husband, was his cousin, and al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain were his grandchildren by 'Alī and Fāṭima. In later times *Ahl al-Bait* meant the much wider circle of those descended from the Prophet's family.

(5) This pentadic structure of the body is mystically interpreted in a similar manner in Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* II,xxiv,4, where the five fingers, the five senses,

by the five senses, viz. hearing, seeing, touch, smell and taste, for it is by these senses that you find the relish of all things, and come to know all things, just as by fulfilling those five religious duties you come to the true taste of everything, obtain the benefits thereof, come to know the Merciful One, and have assured knowledge of the faith. The sense of sight summons you to fulfil the duty of prayer. Said he — upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—: "Prayer was given me as a coolness for my eyes" (1). The sense of touch summons you to the payment of the legal alms, for Allah has said: "Take out for almsgiving from their wealth" (IX,103/104) (2). The sense of taste summons you to give up the taste of food so as to perform the duty of fasting. The sense of hearing summons you to hearken to the call: "Now give a call to the people to go on pilgrimage" (XXII,27/28). The sense of smell summons you to yearn for the breezes of Divine unity: "Truly I find the breeze of the Merciful One from the direction of Yemen" (3). Thus do these five senses summon you to fulfil the five duties of religion.

He also set the five fingers of your right hand to represent Muḥammad—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—"and those with him" (XLVIII,29), viz. Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī. When Adam—upon whom be peace—was created, and the light of our Master Muḥammad—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—shone forth on his forehead, the angels approached and gave greeting to that Light of Muḥammad (4). Adam, however, could not see it,

the five major internal organs, the five divisions of the body are explained as illustrations of the wisdom of God.

(1) as-Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmi' aṣ-ṣaghīr*, No. 3593.

(2) The word for almsgiving used in this Qur'ānic text is *ṣadaqa*, so it is clear that Ibn al-'Arabī is using *ṣadaqa* and *zakāt* as synonymous terms as the Qur'ān does, though in later Islam *zakāt* came to be used for the legal alms and *ṣadaqa* for voluntary charity.

(3) The yearning for the Divine Unity refers to the eagerness they should feel for testifying thereto. The "Breezes from the Yemen" is said to be a reference to the *Anṣār*, or Helpers, in Madina, who were considered by the Muslim antiquarians to derive in large part from the Azd, a tribal group which had come northwards from Yemen. See *Lisān al-'Arab*, VIII,122; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, IV,173.

(4) This is again the doctrine of the Light of Muḥammad *(Nūr-i Muḥammad)*,

so he said: "O Lord, I should love to look upon the light of my child Muḥammad—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—so please convey it to one of my members that I may see it". So Allah conveyed it to the forefinger of his right hand, where he looked at it gleaming on his forefinger, which he then raised and said: "I testify that there is no deity save Allah, and that Muḥammad is the Apostle of Allah" (1). It is for this reason that the forefinger is called *musabbiḥa* (2). Said Adam: "O Lord, does any of this light remain in my loins?" He answered: "Yes" [meaning that] it was the light of his Companions, who are Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī. The light of 'Alī He set in his thumb, the light of Abū Bakr in his middle finger, the light of 'Umar in his ring finger, and the light of 'Uthmān in his little finger. It is said that these are set in your hand in order that by the tips of them you may be reminded to love these five, making no distinction between them, nor between them and Muḥammad—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—for Allah has set them all together in His words: "Muḥammad, the Apostle of Allah, and those who are with him" (XLVIII,29).

The five fingers of your left hand (3) He appointed to be a

already met with fasc. X, p. 74. In Shī'ite circles it became an essential part of the doctrine of the pre-existence of Muḥammad, and once the doctrine was elaborated, it was necessary to have it recognized from the beginnings of history, so here Adam is pictured as recognizing it. See on this Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, p. 319 ff.; L. Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj*, pp. 830 ff.

(1) This is the *kalima* or the *shahāda*, the simplest Muslim Credo, the recital of which as a testifying is the first of the practical duties of Islam, as mentioned above. Since Islam is held to be the natural religion of the *fiṭra* (see p. 115 n. 1) it must obviously have been the religion of our first parents before the fall, and so Adam is here represented as repeating the credal formula of Islam.

(2) *sabbaḥa* means "to glorify God", i.e. to pronounce pious phrases of glorification. To pronounce the *shahāda* with raised forefinger is to glorify Allah, and so the forefinger may be called "the glorifier".

(3) The text actually says "right hand" but as the fingers of the right hand have already been dealt with we expect now the fingers of the left hand. The left hand, however, is inauspicious, and as he is now about to speak of the *Ahl al-Bait*, he says "right hand" again so as to avoid the inauspiciousness. For the same reason we are told in the Traditions that both the hands of Allah are right hands. (as-Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmiʿ aṣ-ṣaghīr*, No. 5625; al-Madanī, *Itḥāfāt*, p. 149, No. 596).

reminder of the five figures *(ashbāḥ)*, namely, the *Ahl al-Bait*, from whom Allah removed all impurity *(rijs)*, as He has said: "Allah desires only to put away from you impurity, O ye people of the House" (XXXIII,33). Said the Apostle of Allah —upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—: "This verse descended with reference to us, the *Ahl al-Bait*, I and 'Alī, and Fāṭima, and al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain" (1). Then He appointed the five toes on each of your feet to keep you mindful of the five prayer services which Allah has made obligatory for you, and for which you stand upon your feet, so that they (i.e. the prayers) are a service here on earth to Allah—exalted be He. A service can only be performed by using the two feet, and so He appointed your right foot [with its toes] as a reminder of the five prayer services, and the toes of your left foot (2) as a reminder to you of the statutory amount on which you must pay the legal alms *(zakāt)*, namely, five dirham's worth. So legal alms is put on the same level as prayers and the toes of your two feet point to both prayers and almsgiving.

He has also set within you that which is an indicator of death and the resurrection, which is an indicator of the bliss of the tomb and the torment of the tomb (3). This is sleep. When a sleeper in a dream sees something evil he is tormented thereby. In sleep he becomes like a corpse deprived of the senses, so that he has no hearing or sight or perception. Then he is given hearing and sight and perception, so that he hears and sees with a hearing and seeing other than his normal hearing and seeing, so that he sees himself going wherever he wishes, eats and drinks, and this resembles the bliss and the

(1) See as-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb an-Nuzūl*, p. 267.

(2) Here again the text has "right" though he means the left.

(3) The reference is to a well-known set of Traditions which tell of how when the funeral is over two angels, Munkar and Nakīr, come to question the deceased in his tomb. If his answers are satisfactory, showing that he is a good and pious Muslim, these angels will arrange for him to spend in bliss the period he has to wait in his tomb till the Day of Resurrection, but if his answers are unsatisfactory, revealing that he is a wicked man and an unbeliever, they will arrange for him to spend the period of waiting in torment. See *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, VIII, No. 1793-1808; at-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi'*, I,199; Abū Ḥanīfa, *Musnad*, pp. 21, 22.

torment the dead man sees in his tomb during the period of *al-Barzakh* (1), between death and resurrection. Then (i.e. at the Resurrection) Allah will awaken you from your sleep, not in accordance with your desire, nor in accordance with your choice, for could you have your wish not to be roused therefrom you would be able to avoid being raised. This gives the lie to those who in their ignorance deny there is any resurrection after death, namely, the heretics *(zindīqs)*, materialists and philosophers. It is also a refutation of those who deny the bliss and torment of the tomb, and that there will be any questioning therein, namely, the Mu'tazilites (2).

Be it known to you that Allah—exalted be He—created His creatures of three species. The Most High has said: « And Allah created every beast from water. Some of them go on their bellies", such as serpents and worms, "some of them go on two legs", as do birds and humans, "while some go on four" (XXIV,45/44), as do domestic animals. Among them is a kind whose posture is like that of one in prostration, another like that of one bowing, and another like that of one standing (3)

(1) In Sūras XXV,53/55, LV,20 *al-barzakh* means a physical barrier between two things, and in XXIII,100/102 it also has this spatial meaning though there it has a connection with the Last Day, for which reason the word is used in many tractates on eschatology for the barrier which separates this visible world from the invisible world of spirits. In Ibrāhīm Ḥaqqī's *Ma'rifat Nāmeh* there is a drawing to illustrate this. More commonly, however, these eschatological works give it a temporal, not a spatial, meaning and use it, as Ibn al-'Arabī does here, to mean the Intermediate State, the period, longer for some than for others, between death and resurrection. See C. A. Nallino in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, VIII, 816, and al-Abyārī, *Bāb al-Futūḥ*, pp. 140-157.

(2) *zindīq* which at first, apparently, was used of the Manichaean dualists, later came to be used in a general sense for various heretical groups. The materialists *(dahriyya)* are those who believed in the eternity of the world. The philosophers *(falāsifa)* are those who cultivated the Arabian variety of the Aristotelian philosophy, and the Mu'tazilites were the rationalistic theologians. See Ritter's indices to the *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* of al-Ash'arī, and those to Gardet et Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane.* Al-Ghazzālī devotes chapter XX of his *Tahāfut* to those who deny the resurrection. That these and other groups also denied that there was any bliss or torment in the tomb is mentioned in most of the popular handbooks of Muslim theology. See al-Ghazzālī, *Iqtiṣād*, p. 88; al-Ash'arī, *Ibāna*, pp. 70, 71; *Maqālāt*, pp. 127, 430; an-Nasafī, *Baḥr al-Kalām*, pp. 83, 84; Ibn Qayyim, *Kitāb ar-Rūḥ*, p. 81.

(3) The reference here is to the bodily postures assumed during the daily ritual prayers. Some portions of the prayer ritual are recited in a standing posture *(iqāma)*, others in a bowing posture *(rukū')*, others in a prone posture *(sujūd)*.

[for prayers]. The standing kind resemble trees and walls which are not able to bow. The bowing kind resemble domestic animals which are not able either to prostrate themselves or to stand upright. The prostrating kind resemble the crawling insects which are not able to bow. All of them have been created to obey Him, to sanctify Him, to declare His being free from imperfection : « for there is nothing which does not give glory with praise of Him » (XVII,44/46). So He —glory be to Him—has in you brought together all the forms of worshipping Him and obeying Him to be found among His creatures. To you alone among His creatures has He made it easy to worship Him standing upright, or bowing or prostrating, for whichever you wish you may do. This was [so ordained] that in you there might be brought together the excellences of all His creatures. To that end He made prayers an obligation for you, so arranging them that they combine all the ways of worshipping Him to be found among His creatures. Thus you practice the excellences of standing, of bowing, and of prostrating.

You were the thing aimed at in this whole process of bringing into being (1). You are the worshipper specially desired by Him who is being worshipped. This is the meaning of what we said before, namely, that Adam—upon whom be peace—was created by Allah in the shape of the name of Muḥammad—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace. He created the universe also in the shape of his form.

Be it known unto you that the highest Court [of angels] is under constraint to labour for the benefit of the Tree of the

(1) This was an idea familiar to the older religions, namely that man was the reason for creation. There were various views on this question of the purpose of creation and we find Ibn al-'Arabī reflecting them. In fasc. X, p. 69 we saw him stating that the purpose of creation was that it might show forth God's name and attributes, and indicated there how this reflected earlier teaching. Here he says it was for man's sake, which is what he had said fasc. X, p. 74, and which was taught in II Baruch XIV,18, 19; IV Ezra VIII,44; Theophilus *Ad Autolycum*, i,4; ii,10, 18; Justin, *Apology* i,3: Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* V,xxix,1. Cicero, *De nat. deor.* VIII,34. Further on we shall find him arguing that it was created for the sake of Muḥammad, which reflects both Jewish and Christian teaching that is was created for the sake of the Messiah.

Universe. They work to improve it, they maintain such things as are right for it, and all because of this special shoot of Muḥammad, the light of Aḥmad (1) that is in it. The first thing to happen when the daylight of being was separated out from the dark night of non-being (2) was that the sunny light of Muḥammad shone forth on the horizon of the forehead of Adam—on whom be peace. Thereat the angels fell down doing obeisance, and said: "Muḥammad is the possessor of the throne for ever". When they were bidden do obeisance [to Adam] they did obeisance (3), and having been selected especially for bearing witness they bore witness.

They were told: "True thanksgiving for this that you have seen is that you should stand on your feet ever ready to exert yourselves in the service of this tree whose root he is, and the kingdom wherein he binds and looses (4). Some of you will

(1) The name Muḥammad is from the root ḤMD which is concerned with the idea of praise, so that Muḥammad means "the one praised". Aḥmad, another name from the same root, means "much praised", and occurs as a name for the Prophet only in Sūra LXI,6, a passage in which Muḥammad is apparently applying to himself the promise of the Paraclete from John's Gospel. See p. 110 n. 4.

(2) That the primordial state before the work of creation had begun was one of darkness was an ancient doctrine in the Near East. It is assumed in the Biblical account in Gen. I, in which the first creative word was "Let there be light". Similarly in the Orphic system it was the appearance of Phanes which broke the primaeval darkness (*Orphic. fragm.* 65 and 86), while Theodore bar Konai (in Pognon, *Coupes de Khouabir*, p. 111) tells us that the Zervanist taught of the time when naught existed but darkness.

(3) Seven times in the Qur'ān (II,30/28 ff.; VII,11/10 ff.; XV,28 ff.; XVII,61/63 ff.; XVIII,50/48 ff.; XX,116/115; XXXVIII,71-73) we read the story of how the angels were bidden do obeisance to the newly created Adam and all obeyed save Iblīs (*diabolos* = Satan), who disdainfully refused. This is merely Muḥammad's attempt at reproducing the wellknown Jewish legend of the angels adoring Adam (Heb. i,6, quoting the LXX of Ps. XCVII,7; *Gen. Rabba* § 8; *Numbers Rabba* § 19; *Sanhedrin* 59 b; *Vita Adae*, p. 14; Bezold's *Schatzhöhle*, p. 4). The story was borrowed also by the Mandaeans (*Ginza R.* I, 98, p. 13; II, 16, p. 33; 23, p. 34; X, p. 242). It caused considerable embarrassment to the Muslim theologians, however, and the commentaries on II,30/28 record a variety of theories they worked out in attempts to avoid its implications. Here Ibn al-'Arabī is saying that it was not Adam to whom they did obeisance, but to the light of Muḥammad which they saw shining from him. The witness they bore was to the preeminence of Muḥammad.

(4) In an earthly kingdom the Sultan does the binding and the loosing, but in the universal kingdom of religion it will be Muḥammad who does the announcing of what is bidden and what forbidden. The sense of the binding and loosing is the same as that in the Gospels in the passage Matt. XVI,19.

be scribes busying yourselves with purified scrolls (1). Some of you will be virtuous [servants] *(barara)* (2), circumambulating around to protect this tree. Some of you will be carriers carrying along for every labourer his labour. Some of you will be writers superintending the restitution to be made by every one who has repented (3). Some of you will wash from their faces the dust of sin by the water of seeking forgiveness and will beg forgiveness for those who are on earth (4). Some of you will be guardians guarding their works for them, keeping account of what is to their debit and what to their credit (5). Some of you will be busied with giving them their daily provision that they may apply themselves to being obedient to the One who provides for them. So one group will be sending forth the winds; another group will be driving along the clouds; another group constraining the seas to serve; another group sending down the water of the rains; another group keeping guard over countries; one group causing night to fall and another group causing day to break; a group taking it in turns to guard [men's] productive members from pernicious things; a group removing misfortunes ; a group adorning the gardens of Paradise, and a group kindling the fires of Hell" (6).

(1) The purified scrolls are mentioned in Sūra XCVIII,2, and the reference is doubtless to the celestial scribes, such as those of whom we read in both Babylonian and ancient Egyptian religious texts, as well as in Jewish and Christian writings. During Muḥammad's ascension he is said to have reached a place where he could hear the scratching of their pens (ad-Dardīr's *Ḥāshiya* on the *Qiṣṣat al-Mi'rāj*, p. 22).

(2) The angels are called noble and virtuous *(barara)* in Sūra LXXX,16/15.

(3) *a'taba* means "to satisfy anyone" and so *i'tāb* refers here to the giving of satisfaction which has to follow on true repentance, making restitution for wrongs done and righting injustices. The idea seems to be that there are angels whose special task it is to keep a record of the restitution made by those who repent as proof that their repentance is sincere.

(4) In Sūra XLII,5/3 the angels are said to ask forgiveness for those who are on earth.

(5) The reference is to the Recording Angels, popularly known as Raqīb and 'Atīd, who keep record of each individual's daily good and evil. They are mentioned in Sūra LXXXII, 10/11 both as guardians and as recorders.

(6) Needless to say all these various angelic ministries can be illustrated from the angelology of the older religions in the Near East.

Now when this [earthly] dwelling had been spread out (1), and the cup of His will had gone around and had been circulated (2), the first one who came to that abode was Iblīs. He had a position as a chief in the labours of *tasbīḥ* and *taqdīs*, but [in his case] they were stuffed with unsoundness and deceit (3). When he came to that abode, saw how beautiful it was to look at, and stood on the elevated spot of understanding, he was displeased and became resolved to be disobedient. As he thought about it he belittled the rights of this [creature composed of] water and clay, and despised him. So when the word came to him: "Do obeisance, in the purity of thy drinking cups", he disdainfully refused, thinking himself superior. Thus he passed over the cup *(kās)*, so there came to him the companionship of bags *(akyās)*, and he remained in the darkness of confusion and perplexity. He scrutinized the bags of his knowledge and his works, and behold, they were all money-bags,

(1) That Allah "spread out" the earth at its creation is stated in Sūra XIII,3; XV,19: L,7. This reflects an ancient belief in the Near East that a small clot of earth first appeared from the primaeval waters, and from this "navel of the earth" the Creator proceeded to spread out the earth in all directions, forcing the waters back, that He might prepare a dwelling for the creatures now to be produced.

(2) He means that having prepared the earth Allah proceeded to create all living forms He intended to flourish on the earth, the vegetation, the birds for the air, the fish for the waters, the animals and finally man. This was the cup of His will circulating.

(3) Iblīs is the common Qur'ānic name for Satan. As already noticed it is the Arabic form of the Greek word *diabolos* (probably derived through some Syriac form). In the teaching of Rabbinic Judaism Satan was at first an angelic being with a fine record of diligence in the service of the Almighty, but he became filled with pride and envy and fell, dragging with him in his fall a considerable body of fallen angels. *Tasbīḥ* is the labour of glorifying God, and *taqdīs* the labour of proclaiming His holiness, both of which labours occupy much of the activity of celestial beings. Muslim legend says that his name was at first 'Azāzīl and that he had been faithfully serving Allah for eighty-five thousand years. He and his troop were sent down to keep order among the Jinn who were on earth and beneath the vault of heaven before the creation of Adam. When Allah, dissatisfied with the way the Jinn were behaving themselves, decided to create a new creature, man, it was these angels under 'Azāzīl who raised objections to Allah's plan (see Sūra II,30/28; XV,28; XXXVIII,71), and who, when Adam was created, were bidden do obeisance to him (see p. 129 n. 3). All did so save their chief who was now cursed and his name changed to Iblīs. (See aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I,79 ff.; Pseudo-Balkhī, II,61-67; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa'n-Nihāya*, I,55; Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, I, 17 ff.; al-Kisā'ī, *Vit. Prophet.* p. 22).

so he remained one who is cut off in the desert of forsakenness, one who breaks with both Shī'a and *sharī'a* (1). Whenever his grief increases and his chastisement becomes grievous to him, he seeks relief by giving tongue, saying: "I shall most assuredly lead them all astray. I shall assuredly fill them with desires. I shall assuredly command them" (IV,119/118). Then Fate *(al-qadr)* says: "and I shall assuredly write for them letters-patent of security. Truly over My servants thou hast no authority" (XV,42). Then he asked the Ruler for a respite, and he was respited (2), that he might be the one who leads unbelievers into Hell fire (3), be the crutch on which lean the sinful and the criminal. Whenever one of them slips he says: "It is none other than Satan who seeks to make them slip" (III,155/149); and when he does an [evil] deed he says: "This is some of Satan's work" (XXVIII,15/14).

When Adam and Iblīs rushed blindly into the path of disobedience, the latter leaving undone that which he was bidden, and the former doing that which he was forbidden, Fate brought them together, since that was fated. For He—exalted be He—gave command, but desired other than what He commanded, so what the command gave the desire took away (4).

(1) Perhaps we could translate "heterodoxy and orthodoxy". The followers of the *sharī'a* are orthodox Muslims, whereas as *shī'a* is a separatist or dissident party and the name of the heterodox Shī'ites. The meaning is that as a celestial being Iblīs had had the use of the celestial chalices, but having fallen he had nothing but money-bags as his containers, and whenever he looked at them he was filled with wrath against man, whether an orthodox or a heterodox believer.

(2) In the Qur'ānic story of his fall he begs a respite and is respited till the Day of Judgment. (VII,14/13 ff.; XV,36 ff.; XXXVIII,79/80 ff.)

(3) When the Grand Assize of the Judgment Day is finished, when the Great Separation has taken place, and each has received sentence to the share of bliss or torment he has deserved, the word will be given for these sentences to be executed, and as Muḥammad will be the leader of the Blessed into Paradise, so Iblīs will be the leader *(qā'id)* of the Damned into the fires of Hell.

(4) Ibn al-'Arabī is here using a theological sophism to avoid the logical consequences of the doctrine of the Decree. The Qur'ānic statements about the decree are quite clear and unambiguous, so the Muslim must believe that all the evil as well as all the good comes to pass because Allah wills it and has commanded it. The consequences of this are here avoided by the statement that though Allah commanded it He did not desire it, so that His desire is always for good even though He may command what is evil.

Thus when the two of them passed over to it what had been decided for Iblīs was that he should not go beyond it, so the wretched one has pitched his tents therein and established his place in its court. As for Adam he yearned for the house of permanent abiding *(dār al-muqāma)* (1), calling it to mind all his nights and his days. Therefore he turned to heaping blame upon himself, calling out among those who repent: "O our Lord, we have wronged ourselves" (VII,23/22). Then he was met by the good news that his being relieved from his distress was near at hand: "Then Adam met with some words from his Lord" (II,37/35). As for that wretched one, Iblīs, there were sent against him the horsemen of cursing with loosened reins, giving him tidings that he was cast out and sent afar: « So he went forth therefrom under command. We said: Get ye down" (II,38/36) (2).

Adam was all a tremble with anxiety and well nigh rent asunder by distress. He said: "O my Master, I swallowed the bitternesses of hindrance on going up so protect me from the heat of despair in going down". Then word came to him: "No real adversity will be yours till you come to the separation of the two parties, one party going to Paradise and one to Hell-fire *(as-Saʿīr)*" (3). So Adam took the right hand way

(1) This *dār al-muqāma* is mentioned in Sūra XXXV,35/32, where it is a name for Paradise.

(2) What he means is that once their fall had been decreed they passed over to a fallen state. In the case of Iblīs the decree was that he should continue in a fallen state and be under the curse (XV,35) till the end, but in the case of Adam the decree was that he should presently repent and ultimately attain the celestial home of bliss for which he yearned. In Sūra II,36/34 the "get ye down" included Satan as well as Adam and Eve, so he was exiled by command just as they were.

(3) Both the Qur'ān and Muslim legend tell of the hindrances there were to the bringing of Adam into existence. The angels objected to his being created and set in the earthly Paradise (II,30/28), and then the earth refused to give any of its clay for his formation (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I,87 ff., *Tafsīr*, I,159; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj adh-Dhahab*, I,51, 52). This is what is meant by the bitterness he experienced in getting up to his Paradise, so he fears it will be worse in going down. The separation referred to here is the Great Separation on the Day of Judgment, familiar to us from the "sheep and the goats" image in the Gospels (Matt. XXV,32, 33), when the one group goes to bliss and the other to torment. The word *Saʿīr*, meaning "blaze", here used of Hell-fire, occurs as one of the names of Hell in the Qur'ān (IV,55/58; XXII,4; XXXI,21/20, etc.), but in the later literature is commonly said to be the name of one of the stages in Hell.

and Iblīs took the left hand way, being the origin of the Companions of the Left Hand (1). Yet, since the two of them had been friendly and had companioned together, some trace of this companionship remained, so that whether a man keeps apart from or journeys along with him is in accordance with a man's natural disposition. That appropriates to itself those who in origin belong to the left side so that they move leftwards into the shadow of the darkness of his disobedience and disbelieve because of their nearness to him and imitation of him. But such as belong to the right side remain in the light of Adam's understanding so that they are safe from the darkness of Iblīs, because of their distance from him, and they are appropriated by that which protects from unbelief (2). Thus some seek shade in the darkness of his going astray. These are those of the left side, and that shows up in their attributes. The lights of their essential being and their acquired knowledge are handed over to them, and the acts of disobedience and crime on which the folk of the right hand may embark are due to the effects of that neighbourliness, the traces of that branding.

But be it known to you that that influence may have yet another origin. When Allah gave orders for a handful of dust to be taken, that therefrom Adam—upon whom be peace—might be created, the Angel of Death came down for that purpose (3). Iblīs was on the earth at that time, for Allah —exalted be He—had appointed him as a vice-gerent therein, along with a body of angels, and he had been there for quite a long time faithfully worshipping Allah (4). Now the Angel of Death took a handful from all parts of the earth where Iblīs had been trampling with his foot. Then when the clay

(1) See fasc. X, p. 71, n. 3.

(2) The doctrine of the decree comes out explicitly again here. Some were by origin destined to be Companions of the Left Hand and some to be Companions of the Right Hand (See fasc. X, p. 73, n. 2). Al-Malaṭī in *Kitāb at-Tanbīh*, p. 106, records how when Rāfi' b. Khadīj asked Muḥammad what he must believe about predestination, the Prophet answered that he must believe that when Allah in the beginning created creatures He appointed such of them as He willed for Paradise and such of them as He willed for Hell, that being pure equity on His part.

(3) This is the descent referred to in n. 1 on p. 113.

(4) See p. 131, n. 3.

for Adam was kneaded to a dough, and his form was shaped in that clay, it came about that his soul was formed from that very dust on which Iblīs had trampled with his foot, whereas his heart was created from dust on which Iblīs had not trampled with his foot (1). Thus the soul acquired the evil and blameable qualities it possesses from the touch of Iblīs' trampling. This is why the soul has been appointed to be the abode of lusts, and Satan's living in it and his authority over it are because his footprints are in it. This also is why Iblīs thought himself superior to Adam, since he found him to be from the dust which had been under his feet. Looking into the essence of his own constituent element, which was fire, he then laid claim to be the potter, and inclined to overweening pride. This is the meaning of those words of Allah—glorious and exalted is He—: "O ye who believe, follow not the footsteps of Satan » (XXIV,21), meaning, that which was created from [what was] beneath his footsteps.

Be it known to you that when the Tree of the Universe grew up it put forth three shoots, a shoot which branched off to the right, another to the left, and a shoot which grew straight upwards, this latter being the shoot of those who precede (*as-sābiqūn*, Sūra LVI,10) (2). Now the spirituality of Muḥammad—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—also, as it rises up, has three shoots attached to it, implanted in it, each shoot of which has its measure of fortune proportionate to its ability to receive that spirituality. Allah—exalted be He—has said: "and We sent thee not save as a mercy to mankind » (XXI,107). Now the portion for the shoot of the Companions of the Right Hand is the spirituality of right guidance in closely following him and acting in accord with his *sunna* and his *sharīʿa*. The Most High has said: "Those who follow the Apostle, the *ummī* Prophet" (VII,157/156) (3). The

(1) This contrast between the heart *(qalb)* and the soul *(nafs)* has been already drawn to the attention of the reader on p. 121 f.

(2) Sūra LVI,10, 11 says that those who precede *(as-sābiqūn)* on earth will be those who precede in heaven, and such are those who draw near *(al-muqarrabūn)*.

(3) In this verse and the next of Sūra VII Muḥammad is called the *ummī* Prophet, and Muslim orthodoxy has taken this to mean "illiterate", i.e. the prophet

portion of the *sābiqūn* is the spirituality of nearness to Him, advancing towards Him, companionship with Him, "and these are with those to whom Allah has been gracious, such as the Prophets" (IV, 69/71). The portion of the Companions of the Left Hand is the spirituality of his protection for them in this world, and making them secure against too sudden punishment, "for Allah will not punish them while thou art with them" (VIII,33).

When the time arrived for his corporeality—upon him be Allah's blessing and peace—to appear in the world of existing things the sprout of his coming into existence sprouted up straight and upright. Then when his root had taken firm hold and his branches had grown out, the One Who invested him with his authority summoned him, saying: "so stand up straight as thou hast been commanded" (XI,112/114). Thus what is characteristic of him—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—is that he is upright, and the place where he stands is the *dār al-muqāma* (1). When he stood upright he was removed from the two universes, and when he arose he was transferred from place to place *(maqām)*, each station *(manzil)* holding steady for him so that he stood firm. The first *maqām* was that of coming into existence in this world. This is as the Most High has said : "O thou who art enwrapped in a mantle, arise! warn!" (LXXIV,1,2) (2). The second *maqām* is the

who could neither read nor write, but who was taught entirely by Allah. The word seems, however, to be much like the Hebrew *'am ha'āreṣ*, and to mean only a person who has had no formal training such as is necessary for one to belong to the class of professionally learned men. The pl. *ummiyūn* is used in this sense in III,20/18, 75/69 and LXII,2.

(1) See p. 133, n. 1.

(2) Ibn al-'Arabī may be thinking here of those commentators who think that the first verses of Sūra LXXIV refer to Muhammad's first call to be a Prophet (see aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXIX,90), which would mark his passing from the station of being merely a citizen of this world to the *maqām* of being a man with a mission from Allah. It seems more likely, however, that he is thinking of his birth, when, in order to enter into this world he had to break through the enwrapping in which he had spent his pre-natal months.

There is in this section another play on words. The verb *qāma* is "he stood", and a *maqām* is one's position, one's standing or standing-place, while *muqāma* or *maqāma* is one's settled abode. The suggestion is that wherever Muḥammad's *maqām* may have been during the unfolding of history, his real *maqām* from the beginning was the *Dār al-muqāma*.

"praised station" in the Hereafter, as the Most High has said: "Maybe thy Lord will raise thee to a station praised" (XVII,79/81) (1). The third *maqām* is the *maqām* of eternity in Paradise. This is as the Most High has said: "Who in His kindness has caused us to alight at the *dār al-muqāma*" (XXXV,35/32). The fourth *maqām* is the station to which testimony has been borne, the station of a distance of two bows' length for a vision of the One Who is worshipped: "Then He drew near and descended till He was two bows' length off or nearer" (LIII,8,9) (2).

He (i.e. Muḥammad) was the one specially selected for this drawing near, for the raising high, for having testimony borne, because he was what was aimed at in all this bringing into existence (3). Since what was brought into existence was a

(1) There has been much discussion among the theologians as to what this *maqām maḥmūd* promised to Muḥammad in the after life is. As a matter of fact it is a concomitant of the doctrine that he is the Urmensch. As he has the prominent part in the *Urzeit* he must have an equally prominent part in the *Endzeit*, and adh-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, III,9 quotes Mujāhid as saying that the promise of the *maqām maḥmūd* means that on the Day Allah will seat him with Himself on the Throne. Ibn Taimiyya, *Tawaṣṣul*, p. 129 says that on the Day all the former and the latter peoples will envy Muḥammad his *maqām maḥmūd*. The usual explanation, however, is that it refers to the position of general Intercessor which Muḥammad will occupy on the Day (*Kanz al-'Ummāl*, VII, Nos. 2339, 2385, 2390, 2391 ; Ibn Khuzaima, *Tawḥīd*, pp. 164, 167, 197 ff.; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I,375; IV,466; al-Murtaḍā, *Itḥāf*, X,486).

(2) The Qur'ānic passage is said to refer to Muḥammad's experience during his call to the prophetic office, and in which he had a vision. The orthodox commentators insist that it was a vision of Gabriel who drew near till he was only two bows' length away. Several modern scholars have suggested that Muḥammad thought of the experience as a theophany in which he had a vision of the Almighty (Bell, *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, p. 31). Here, however, Ibn al-'Arabī seems to be referring it to Muḥammad's vision of Allah in Paradise. Nicholson in his notes to the *Divāni Shamsi Tabrīz*, p. 250, remarks that the Ṣūfīs often used the Qur'ānic "distance of two bows' length as signifying Muḥammad's approach to his lord". See further p. 153, n. 1.

(3) Here again, as on p. 128 we have the old question of the purpose of creation. There it was asserted that creation was brought into being for man's sake, which was a common opinion in the earlier religions (Justin, *Second Apology*, § 4; *Dialogue with Trypho* § 41; the *Apocalypse of Shadrach*, iii and the *Assumption of Moses*, I,12). Among the Rabbis, however, there was a notion that it was for the sake of some one person, for the sake of Moses, or of David, or of the Messiah (*Sanhedrin*, 98 b), as in the New Testament in Col. i, 16 it is said to have been for the sake of Christ. Here, as again on p. 146, Ibn al-'Arabī reflects a similar view by stating that it was for the sake of Muḥammad.

tree, he was its fruit, he was its essence. A fruit-bearing tree bears fruit only because of the seed from which sprang up its root. So when that seed was planted, nourished and fostered till it grew up, it put forth branches, then leaves, then it flowered and then bore fruit. So when you look at that tree you see in it that seed from which the tree grew. The seed was in the beginning, just a speck *(nuṭfa)* (1) till it caused the form of the tree to appear. At the end there was the tree. It came forth from it (i. e. from the seed), but it caused the form of that seed to appear. Likewise the hidden nature of him —upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—in idea is in that which is past, but its being hidden and its appearing in a form are in that which follows and is divulged. This is the meaning of his saying—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—: "I was a Prophet when Adam was between water and clay" (2). He is the one in whom is shown forth the meaning of this tree, and in him—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—is its form made manifest. So he ceased not being mentioned by the tongue of Him Who is pre-existent, unfolded in the folds of non-being. The only similitude for this is that of a merchant who went to his carpet, took it off, folded it up in the store-house where he kept his wealth, and filled it with garments one on top of the other, so that the first garment he inserted and folded will be the last garment he will bring out and show. Thus it is in the case of our Master Muḥammad—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace. He was the first of all who were brought into existence, but was the last of them to appear by coming forth.

Now when He had taken upon Himself to decree the authority of this prophetic shoot, He fed it with the pure fodder of his righteousness, watered it from the goblet of His affection, protected it in the flower-pot of His protective care, tended it till it had grown tall and the aroma of its perfume had spread

(1) This particular word *nuṭfa* would seem to have been chosen because in the Qur'ān it is used twelve times for the original drop of sperm from which each man is created (See LXXX,19/18; LXXVI,2; LIII,46/47).

(2) See p. 114, n. 1.

around. It is this aroma which is the nourishment of the spirits of the Knowers *('ārifīn)* (1), the light of the intelligence of true believers *(mu'minīn)*, the sweet scent of the presence of the "lovers" *(muḥibbīn)*, the court-yard for the gathering of the rebellious *('āṣīn)*, the showers to assuage the thirst of the sinners *(mudhnibīn)*. So if, from meeting with the Companions of the Left Hand, there should blow the *samūm* (2) of sinfulness, or the tempest of rebelliousness, then it causes a shoot which Allah has planted to bend so that it inclines to some works of the people of the left hand, making play with its branches. That has its effect on the greeness of its bright vegetation, yet its root is fixed firmly in the soil of faith, so it is unharmed by what happens in the branches which have grown out. It reaches the one who has sinned and protects him from that evil inclination, causing him to incline to the way of uprightness after his having turned away therefrom, giving him to drink the water of seeking forgiveness till his thirst is quenched. So what he intended is there accepted from him, the shoot of his faith bears leaves after it had shed them, and the advocate to plead his excuses stands forth, namely, that one who is trustworthy in what he transmits and hands down (3), for He Himself takes oath: "By the star when it falls, your companion did not err nor did he go astray" (LIII, 1,2).

Furthermore be it known to you, with regard to that branch

(1) In what follows he is using again terms in common use in the devotional literature of Islam for different classes of true believers The *'ārifīn* are the true "gnostics" who have come in a very special way to know Allah. The *muḥibbīn* are the "lovers" who are wholly devoted to Him in love. The *mu'minīn* are ordinary believers obedient to the commands of Allah, while the *'āṣīn* are the disobedient and rebellious Muslims for whom is prepared torment. The *mudhnibīn* are those who have fallen short of what they should have been but are not in a state of rebellion or disobedience.

(2) In the Qur'ān the *samūm* is the burning wind of the infernal regions (LII, 27; LVI,42/41 and see fasc. X, p. 72, n. 1), but it is also the name of the scorching, dustladen wind which blows across the Arabian deserts. Here Ibn al-'Arabī uses it symbolically for the gusts of evil. What he means in this passage is that contact with the Companions of the Left Hand will doubtless have its effect on the Companions of the Right Hand but in that connection they will have Divine help.

(3) I.e. Muḥammad, who is the "companion" mentioned in Sūra LIII,2.

Muḥammad, that it comes from the spirituality of that which is the substance of spirits. As for the substance of its spirituality, its excellence is in the mystery of those words of the Most High: "Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth. [The similitude of] His light is a lamp-niche in which there is a lamp-light" (XXIV,35). He means the lamp-light lit from the light of our Prophet, Muḥammad—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—whom He has appointed to be the lamp-light in the lamp-niche of existing things. So He likens the universe to a lamp-niche, and our Master Muḥammad—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—to a glass, and the light which it receives to a lamp-light. Now the light of his interior qualities shines out through his exterior qualities, just as the lamp-light shows through the glass. So the light of the lamp-light becomes a fire, and the glass, because of its translucency, a light: so it becomes a light.

Thus the fortune of every creature is in proportion to its nearness to him, its following him, its entering into his sect and acting according to his *sharī'a*. This is the meaning of the words of the Most High: "and from heaven He sent down water in measure" (XXIII,18) (1). Allah—exalted be He—here likens His beloved one, Muḥammad, to water coming down in measure from heaven, for water is that which gives life to all things, and in like manner the light of Muḥammad—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—is the life of every heart, and his being in existence is a mercy to everything. Thus He made clear how people are benefitted by his light, and symbolized what He bestows upon them from the blessedness of Muḥammad —upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—by [using the word] valleys. He has made the hearts valleys, some great and some small, some glorious and some humble, and has made each heart carry water to the measure of its width and size, sending the floods to it, and having taught all peoples their

(1) In that Qur'ānic passage it reads "We sent down" not "He sent down". Ibn al-'Arabī seems to have confused in his mind this verse with that in XIII,17/18: "He sends down water from heaven, so the valleys flood to their measure, and the flood bears along ever increasing scum", for he goes on in what follows to mention the flooding of the valleys, and the scum borne along.

respective drinking places (1). Then He likened his (i.e. Muḥammad's) corporeality to the ever increasing scum that is borne along on the surface of the pure water (2). This refers to external growing up with its eating and drinking and sex functioning, so that he shared with other people in their daily actions, their life conditions, all of which are things which pass away and are reduced to naught, whereas all the benefits folk receive from his prophetic office, his mission, his wisdom, his knowledge, his understanding, his [power of] intercession, are things which remain on earth.

Be it known to you that the [Divine] wisdom in [Muḥammad's] creation is only that he was created from both the thin and the thick, (or the fine and the coarse), that he might be complete in his nature, complete in his attributes. Allah—exalted be He—created him from two elements of opposite nature, a corporeal and a spiritual. His corporeal and human nature He appointed to encounter humanity face to face in the proper proportions of human forms. He allotted to him the strength with which to encounter men and supply them with the substance of his humanness, so that he should be with them for a purpose, viz. that they might have thereby a care: "I am but a human like yourselves" (XVIII,110). He was of like species and of like form with them, for had he appeared to them in his spiritual, angelic, shining form of light, they would neither have

(1) The wording here is drawn from Sūra II,60/57, which tells of Moses striking the rock so that water gushed forth for the Children of Israel, all of whom knew their drinking places so that there was no confusion. This is doubtless based on what Muḥammad had heard of Jewish legends connected with that event. See Ginzburg, *Legends of the Jews*, III,310-313, 317-319.

(2) *zabad* may mean the "foam "formed on wave-tops, or the "scum" carried along on the crest of flood waters, or the "dross" which comes to the top when metals are melted over a fire. In XIII,17/18 both the "scum" and the "dross" are used parable fashion to suggest the worthless material which is cast away, whereas the useful material remains to benefit mankind. This word *zabad* occurs in several of the Muslim accounts of the creation to designate the first material produced by the blowing of the winds upon the primaeval waters, the material out of which the earth was made (See ath-Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ*, p. 3; *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, III, No 3379; an-Nuwairī, *Nihāya*, I,29). It will be remembered that in both Hindu and Buddhist cosmogonies the beginning of earth was a skin, or scum, or froth which appeared on the surface of the primaeval waters and which then hardened.

been able to receive him, nor been capable of opposing him. For that reason Allah—exalted be He—granted them His favour, as He said: "There has come to you a messenger from among yourselves" (IX,128/129). Then He also gave him spiritual strength wherewith he might have contact with the world of spiritual beings, and the *malakūt* of the higher intelligences (1), that he might be perfect as a blessing and a mercy, and that the spiritual beings might witness his corporeality.

Then He gave him a third special quality quite apart from these two (viz. his spirituality and his corporeality). It was that He implanted in him some mysterious quality of His own Lordship and Divinity whereby he might stand firm when the attributes of Lordship were revealed, might be able to gaze upon the Divine Presence, receive by it the secret of the lights of His solitariness, hear by it the words of holy admonition, inhale by it the odour of the perfumes of mercifulness, mount up by it to all the sweet and resplendent stations *(maqāmāt)*. This mysterious quality is what is meant by his words—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—"I am not like one of you", and by his words: "I have an hour in which none will be more ample than I am save my Lord—glory be to Him". This station is one given as a special privilege to no angel who draws near, to no Prophet who has been sent on a mission. This is a cup of which none save he may drink, a bride who will unveil to none save him. This is the station called the Special Station, one of the four stations which we have mentioned (2). As for

(1) There are two technical words in this passage, *rūḥāniyyūn* "spiritual beings" and *'uluwiyyūn* "higher intelligences", both of which are used to designate celestial groups. Abū'l-Muntahā in *Sharḥ al-Fiqh al-akbar*, p. 4, classes the *'uluwiyyūn* with the *muqarrabūn* as the first class of angels, those who have only celestial connections, as against those who labour between earth and heaven. Since Ibn al-'Arabī refers to the *world* of the *rūḥāniyyūn*, but the *malakūt* of the *'uluwiyyūn* he would seem to have had the same distinction in mind.

(2) He is referring to the four *maqāms* discussed on pp. 136 and 137. The *karāmāt*, which are often referred to in accounts of the Saints of Islam, correspond to the *charismata* associated with so many Christian Saints. It is noticeable, however, as Ibn al-'Arabī expressly states, that in Islam these *karāmāt* are foreordained, so that no Muslim may attain to a *karāma* unless it has been decreed that he is to attain to such, and naturally, if one has been decreed for him to attain he cannot fail to attain it.

the others they are *karāmāt* open to the rest of creatures and may all be attained by anyone to whom such a lot has been decreed.

As for the *maqām maḥmūd* one form of it is special to the world of forms, i.e. the world of the *mulk* in this world. Thus it is that there reaches men something of his tranquility, something of the blessing of his prophetic office and his mission: "We have not sent thee save as a mercy to mankind" (XXI,107). He was made to stand on the *minbar* (1) of: "O messenger, proclaim what has been sent down to thee from thy Lord" (V, 67/71). Thus he is the one who will answer for them at the summons (2), who will be the one who responds to them when they need a sincere adviser, their healer at the quaking, their portion of love. This is something specially concerned with the people of this world.

The second *maqām* is the *maqām maḥmūd* at the resurrec-

(1) *Minbar* or *mimbar* "a raised platform" is the word used for the pulpit from which the preacher *(khaṭīb)* delivers the sermon *(khuṭba)* in the mosque at Friday prayers.

(2) The *da'wa* (summons) refers to the Day of Judgment when each religious group or community *(umma)* will be called, and the messenger *(rasūl)* sent to that community will have to answer. So Muḥammad will be the one who answers when the call comes for the Muslim community. Al-Ḥuraifīsh in *ar-Rawḍ al-fā'iq*, p. 181, emphasizes the fact that the question, premilinary to the dread presentation before Allah at the Judgment, is that of the community to which each individual belongs, for it is by communities that men will be led to Judgment. The reference to the sincere adviser men will need and to the help they will require at the quaking are also references ot Muḥammad's close attention to his community during the dreadful experiences on the Day. There is a Tradition which tells how 'Ā'isha asked Muḥammad whether he would remember his family (or others say his community) on the Day of Judgment, and he answered that he would be remembering them at three places where no one else would be able to think of aught save his own predicament, viz. at the Balances, when they are anxiously waiting to see how their good and evil deeds tip the scales, at the descent of the record books when each is anxious to see if he will receive his book in the right hand or in the left, at the Bridge when it is cast over the back of Hell and they tremble at the thought of crossing ('Alī al-Qārī, *Mirqāt*, V, 250 ; *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, VII, No. 2307). Another possibility is that the *da'wa* here refers to a Tradition in which Muḥammad says that every Prophet has been allowed one *da'wa*, i.e. one opportunity to intercede, and the other prophets had used theirs during the exercise of their ministry on earth, whereas he had saved his up so that on the Day, when mankind desperately needs someone to appear as intercessor he would be the only one who still had a *da'wa* unused, so he would use it to intercede for all mankind (see Ibn Khuzaima, *Tawḥīd*, p. 161).

tion (1). That is concerned with the fortune of the highest angelic Court, for there will reach them somewhat of the blessedness of his station, since they will see his beauty and hearken to his words: "On the Day when the Spirit and the angels will stand" (LXXVIII,38). He then will be given permission to speak, so he will stand up as the speaker, while the angels are in their ranks and all creatures are standing (2). He will open his address by making intercession for his community. He will call [to Allah]: "O my community! O my community!", and the answer will come: "My mercy. My mercy" (3). The third *maqām* is concerned with the witnessing. It is in the Eternal Dwelling (*Dār al-khulūd*, i.e. Paradise) and is [appointed] that those who are in Paradise may attain through him what has been allotted to them. The Ḥūrīs (i.e. the celestial maidens) will get real enjoyment by just looking upon him. The palaces will be truly honoured by his alighting at them. The delights [of Paradise] will be enhanced by his drawing near. The light of the Garden will be increased, the veils will be raised as he advances, and all evil things will fade away. The fourth *maqām* is a station specially set apart for him—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace. It is the station of being able to

(1) See p. 137 n. 1. Since at Judgment he is to be the general intercessor who intercedes for all mankind, it is not only men who will envy him this exalted position, but even the celestial hosts will be amazed that he is permitted to speak at a moment when they are bidden be silent. Sūra LXXVIII,38 says: "and they (i.e. the angels) will stand in rank, and they will not speak, save him to whom permission is given by Allah, and who will speak correctly".

(2) The popular eschatological tractates make much of this Standing at Judgment. It is the *wuqūf*. All creatures will be gathered at the Judgment place with angel bands surrounding them so that none may hide or get away. So dense will be the crowding together, so great the anxiety, and so fierce the heat of the sun, which will be drawn very near at the *wuqūf*, that there will be a tremendous sweat in which some will be immersed to their ankles, some to their knees, some to their waists and some to their chins, as they stand waiting for the Judge to appear. It is the distress at this standing in the sea of sweat which leads to the search for an intercessor who will intercede with Allah to bring on the Judgment and end their suspense. It is Muḥammad who will undertake this office of intercessor, and in answer to his plea Allah will appear to take His place on the Judgment Seat (*Daqā'iq al-akhbār*, pp. 26, 27; as-Suyūṭī, *ad-Durar al-ḥussān*, p. 23; al-Ghazzālī, *ad-Durra al-fākhira*, pp. 55, 56, ash-Sha'rānī, *Tadhkira*, pp. 40, 41).

(3) This is a well-known Tradition and is quoted by al-Ghazzālī in the *Iḥyā'*, IV,450, and by Ibn Makhlūf, *al-'Ulūm al-Fākhira*, I,153.

look upon Him Who is the object of worship—majestic and exalted is He. It is the station of: "at a distance of two bows' length or nearer" (LIII,9).

All this means that when the fruit of the Tree of the Universe came into being, and the pearl of its occurrence and its secret came into existence, and the meaning of the word *kun*, the tree itself was not what was desired. That which was desired was solely its fruit, so it was protected and guarded that its fruit might presently be gathered and its flowers be seen as they appeared. Then since what was desired was the presentation of this fruit in front of Him Who caused the fruitage, its being conducted like a bride into the presence of those nearest Him, and being led around before the intimates of His Presence, word came to him: "O orphan of [the house of] Abū Ṭālib (1), arise! There is One Who seeks for me. For thee He has stored up things much sought after". Then He sent to him a very special servant from the kingdom, [namely, Gabriel]. When he (i.e. Gabriel) arrived and approached him he found him sleeping on his matress. Muḥammad said to him: "O Gabriel, whither *(aina)?* He answered: "O Muḥammad, the *aina* has been removed from the *baina* (2), so on this occasion I do not know whither. I am the messenger of Him Who is pre-existent. I have been sent to you from among the servant host, and: "we descend not save by command of thy Lord" (XIX, 64/65). Said he: "O Gabriel, what is wanted of me ?" He answered: "Thou art what is desired in every act of desire, what is aimed at in every wish, so all wanting is because of thee.

(1) Tradition says that Muḥammad's father had died before he was born and his mother, Āmina, when he was but a small child, so he was brought up first in the house of his grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and, when he too died, in the house of his uncle Abū Ṭālib, the father of ʿAlī.

(2) Gabriel had come to take him on his famous Night Journey, his Ascension, during which he was led up through the seven heavens, and then beyond, till he came into the Divine Presence. In this experience he was stepping outside the limitations of time and space, so Gabriel says it is no longer of any use to speak in spatial terms such as *aina* "where? whither?" or *baina* "between, among". Al-Ḥuraifīsh *ar-Rawḍ al-fāʾiq*, p. 120, speaking of Muḥammad's Ascension, says: "The Chosen one ceased not passing through the veils of light, piercing the curtains, ascending ever stage by stage, till *aina* passed away and disappeared and *baina* departed and was no more".

Thus it is thou who art the wanted one and art the chosen one in the universe. Thou art the choice wine of the cup of love. Thou art the pearl of this happenstance. Thou art the fruit of this tree. Thou art the sun of learning. Thou art the full moon of all agreeable things. This earthly dwelling was spread out only to raise a place for thee. The shape of these beautiful things was only that they might be available to thee. The cup of love was strained only for thee to drink. So rise up! The tables are spread in thy honour, the angels of the highest Court (1) are communicating to one another the good news of thy arrival among them. The Cherubs are raising hallelujahs because of thy coming to them. The nobility of thy spirituality has reached them so they must also have some good fortune from thy corporeality. Thus wilt thou honour the world of the *malakūt* as thou hast honoured the world of the *mulk*, and honour the pinnacle of heaven by the treading of thy feet as thou hast by them honoured the surface of the torrent bed *(al-baṭḥā')* (2).

Said he: "O Gabriel, the Generous One summons me, but what will He do with me?" He answered: "[The summoning is] that He may forgive thy former and thy latter sins" (XLVIII, 2). Said he: "This is for me, but what is there for my children and my little ones? for he who eats alone is the evillest of men". He answered: "Yet thy Lord will surely give to thee, and thou wilt be well pleased" (XCIII,5). Said he: "O Gabriel, now is my heart at ease. Here am I, going to my Lord". Then he brought al-Burāq (3) near to him. Said he: "What have I to

(1) This is *al-mala' al-a'lā*. See fasc. X, p. 73, n. 1.

(2) *baṭḥā'* properly means a valley bed strewn with what has been brought down by the flash floods, but it is often used of open spaces of land covered with pebbles. There was a place with this name at Mecca, and it may well be that that is what is meant here. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, I,662.

(3) This steed on which Muḥammad mounted up through the heavens is described as being somewhat larger than an ass but smaller than a mule, with wings, a peacock's tail and a woman's head, so swift of speed that at every bound it went as far as eye could reach. Burāq was the steed of the Prophets, having been ridden earlier by Abraham and others. See ath-Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ* p. 63; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XV,5; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p. 264, ad-Diyārbekrī, *Tārīkh al-Khamīs*, I,349. Among the illustrations in Enrico Cerulli's *Il Libro della Scala* (Roma, 1949) there are several which show Muḥammad on the back of Burāq in company with Gabriel.

do with this thing ?" He replied: "It is the steed for the passionate lover". Said he: "But my own yearning [for Allah] is steed enough for me, my desire is my provision for the journey, my night is my guide map and I shall not reach Him save by it, nor shall any save it direct me towards Him. How should a weak animal be able to bear one who is himself carrying the weight of love for Him, the mountain-chains of knowledge of Him, the mysteries of loyalty to Him which the heavens and the earth with all its mountains cannot carry? Indeed, how can you direct me to Him when you yourself stand dazzled by the Sidra of the Boundary (1), while I am going to reach a Presence which has no boundary? O Gabriel, where are you as compared with me since I have a moment in which none will be ampler than I am save my Lord? O Gabriel, since my Beloved is One Who has none like Him (XLII,11/9), I also am not as one of you. That which is ridden is that whereby distances are covered, and a guide map is that by which one is directed to places. But all that concerns only places in a created world, whereas my Beloved is far separated in holiness from places and far removed from any created world. He cannot be reached by movements, nor can any indications direct one to where He is. Anyone who understands meanings will understand what I am struggling to express. Come along! I am as near to Him as two bows' length or nearer" (LIII,9).

At that Gabriel became aware of the awfulness of the moment, so he said: "O Muḥammad, I have been sent to you only to be a servant of your good fortune, a friend at your side, and I have brought to you this steed that your honourable state may be clearly manifest. It is the custom of kings when they go to pay a visit to a friend, or to càll upon some kinsman, and wish to show how honourable they are and how much they are to be respected, to send for their special servants and their finest beasts of burden to transport them. Thus have we come to

(1) See fasc. X, p. 70, n. 1. Immediately beyond the Sidrat al-Muntahā are the seventy thousand veils of light and fire which, in a well-known Tradition, Gabriel admits he cannot approach lest he be consumed (*Kanz al-'Ummāl*, VII, Nos. 2496,2501; 'Alī al-Qārī, *Mirqāt*, V,352).

you in the manner of the custom of kings and the proprieties of journeying, but anyone who believes that He—glorious and exalted is He—can be reached by so many footsteps, has fallen into sin, and anyone who imagines that He is veiled by a curtain *(ghiṭā')*, has cut himself off from Allah's bounty (1). O Muḥammad, the highest angelic Court is all in expectancy for you, the gardens have opened wide their gates, adorned their courts, decked out their attendants, strained their drinks, and all that out of joy at your approach, gladness at your arrival. This night is your night, the good fortune is your good fortune. Since the day I was created I have been looking forward to this night. [Said Allah]: "I have appointed thee to be the means of access in a thing". I answered: "In it [shall I put all] my cunning". But my own means of access has been cut off, so therein is my intellect perplexed, my thoughts in a maze, my heart all bewildered, my mind preoccupied and increasingly disordered. O Muḥammad, my perplexity makes me stand in the *maidāns* (2) of His eternity and His everlastingness. In the *maidān* of the first have I wandered around but found no beginning for Him. Then I turned to the other *maidān*, and lo! in the last He is the first. (3) So from that Great Companion I asked for a companion, whereupon Michael met me on the way.

[Michael] said to me: "Where are you going? The road ahead is blocked and the gates are closed against any who would approach Him. He may not be reached in any time

(1) This is not denying the teaching that Allah is veiled by veils of light, veils of darkness, veils of fire, etc., but denying the teaching of those who held that there could be no Beatific Vision at all, since the very nature of Allah's infinite existence is a *ghiṭā'* which effectively veils Him from the gaze of finite beings. Ibn al-'Arabī has to deny this for he believed that Muḥammad saw his Lord, and that in Paradise the blessed will also see Him.

(2) A *maidān* or *mīdān* is a wide, open space of ground for the exercising of troops, and is used figuratively for anything where there is ample room for movement.

(3) This is the Alpha and Omega idea familiar to us from the Book of Revelation (I,8; XXI,6; XXII,13), though it is also found in the Old Testament (Isa. XLIV,6; cf. XLIII,10; XLVIII,12), and is taken up by Muḥammad in the Qur'ān, Sūra LVII,3: "He is the first and the last". The Mandaeans may have got the idea, as Muḥammad did, from the People of the Book, but the notion is attested fairly early in the Near East and has parallels in Indian, Iranian and Greek texts.

that may be measured nor found in any place which has limits". I answered: "Then why are you standing in such a place as this ?" Said he: "He has laid on me the task of measuring out *(makāyīl)* the seas, of letting down the rains and sending them into all countries, so that I know how far their salty waters extend, how much foam their waves cast up, but I do not know any limit to the uniqueness [of Allah], nor can I count [His] solitariness". I asked: "Where is Isrāfīl ?" (1) He replied: "That [great angel] has entered into the School of Instruction to examine a page, namely, that of the face of the Preserved Tablet (2), that he may copy thereform what sentences have been confirmed and what have been reversed, then, in the manner of youths taking instruction, he recites what the Mighty One, the Knowing One has decreed. Yet all the time he is being instructed he does not raise his head, out of reverence for Him who is instructing him, for his sight is incapable of looking [at Him], and his heart barely able to think. In this condition will he continue till the day when he blows the trump".

I said: "Come, let us question the Throne, let us seek its guidance and copy down from it what it knows as we ask it to dictate". When the Throne heard what we were about it trembled with emotion and said: "Move not thy tongue therewith, neither let thy heart speak about it. This is a mystery the veil over which will never be withdrawn, before whose door the hangings will never part asunder. This is a question to which there is no answer. Who am I in the within *(baina)* that I should know for Him a whither *(aina)*? I am only something created by two letters (i.e. by *kun*). Only yesterday there was no trace of me, no substance. How can one who yesterday was non-existent, absent, come to see One Who has always been existing, without there being any begetter or any begotten ? (CXII,3). He preceded me in the taking of His seat (3), and compelled me by having the mastery. Had it not

(1) Isrāfīl, the Hebrew Sarafiel, is the third of the archangels, being generally named after Gabriel and Michael. He is the angel in charge of the decrees and on the Day will blow the last trump.

(2) See fasc. X, p. 69, n. 2 and above, p. 121.

(3) This passage is concerned again with the problem of the *istiwā'*. See p. 120, n. 2.

been for His taking His seat I should not have been sat upon, and had it not been for His having the mastery I should not have been brought forth. "And He mounted up to the heavens when they were smoke" (XLI, 11/10), and "He took His seat on the Throne" (LVIII,4) to establish the demonstration, and so by His might He took His seat. I have no knowledge of how He mounted up, though I and the *tharā* (1) are equally near Him. I do not comprehend what He gathers up, nor do I know what He conceals, but I am one of His servants and every servant shall have what he has performed.

Nevertheless I shall tell you my story and divulge to you my grievous complaint, [a complaint] which chokes me. I swear by the excellence of His glory, and by the power of His might, that it was He who created me, in the oceans of His oneness drowned me, in the vast desert of His eternity dazzled me. At one time He mounts up from the rising-places of His eternity so that He comforts me, or again He draws near me from the standing-places of His nearness so that He is friendly to me. At another time He covers Himself with the veil of His glory and leaves me lonely. At one time He whispers to me in kindly confidential intercourse so that He fills me with joy, yet at another time He comes to me with the chalices of His love so that He intoxicates me. Each time I seek some sweetness from the ill-nature of my drunkenness the tongue of His Oneness says: "Never will you see Me" (VII,143/139). Thus I melt away from awe of Him in a state of fear, and I am torn apart by love of Him in a state of anxiety. I am smitten down at the disclosure of His greatness as Moses fell down smitten (2).

(1) *tharā* means "moist soil" and in Sūra XX,6/5 Allah is declared to be Lord of all in heaven and earth, of what is between them, and what is below the *tharā*, where *tharā* doubtless means the things beneath the earth's crust. In the popular cosmology, however, the *tharā* has come to be used as the name of the deepest depth. As the Throne is the highest entity that can be named so the *tharā* is the lowest entity human thought can reach. See Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa'n-Nihāya*, I,8, and an-Nuwairī, *Nihāya*, I,199.

(2) Sūra VII,142/138-146/144 tells the story, as Muḥammad heard it, of Moses' forty days and nights on the mount when he received the Law (Exod. XXIV,12-18). In Deut. IX,18 Moses tells how he fell down before the Lord, i.e. prostrated himself in obeisance, but in the Qur'ān this is taken to mean that Moses fell down

But when I recover from the anguish of my love for Him, word comes to me: "O thou passionate lover, this beauty is something We have altered, this loveliness something over which We have placed a veil, so no one shall look on it save a beloved one whom We have chosen, and orphan We have brought up" (1). So when I heard: "Glory be to him Who took His servant by night" (XVII,1) (2), [then I also heard the words] "Go stand in the way whereby he is mounting up to Us and maybe you will see him who is to see Us, and enjoy looking at one who himself has never gazed towards anyone save Us" (3).

"O Muḥammad", [said Gabriel], "if the Throne is yearning for you how should I be other than a servant at your hands?" Then he brought to him his first steed, viz. Burāq, [who carried him from Mecca] to the Jerusalem shrine; then the second steed, viz. the ladder *(mi'rāj)* [whereby he mounted] to the lowest

thunderstruck when God revealed Himself in such glory that the very mountains were reduced to powder. The word Ibn al-'Arabī uses here for "smitten" is the technical word used for being smitten by a thunderbolt.

(1) He means, of course, Muḥammad, who is commonly called "the chosen one" *(al-Muṣṭafā)*, and who, as is well known had been left an orphan (cf. Sūra XCIII,6).

(2) This verse is the Qur'ānic basis for the legends about Muḥammad's Ascension. *asrā* means "to cause anyone to journey by night", and the Night Journey *(al-isrā')* probably meant only the dream journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and back, during which the Prophet was given a vision of Paradise and Hell. The *Mi'rāj*, or ascent through all the seven heavens and then beyond to the Divine Presence, was apparently an independent legend in which Muḥammad and Gabriel mounted up from Mecca, but later it was added to the *isrā'* story and the ascent made to start from Jerusalem. See B. Schrieke, "Die Himmelsreise Muhammads" in *Der Islam*, VI,1-30, J. Horovitz, "Muhammeds Himmelfahrt", *ibid.*, IX,159-183, and R. Hartmann in the *Bibliothek Warburg* for 1930, pp. 42-65. Some Muslim writers treat the Mi'rāj as a dream, quoting the statement of his wife 'Ā'isha that he did not leave her side all night, but the popular belief is that it was a bodily ascension.

(3) Ibn al-'Arabī is here subscribing to the orthodox doctrine that while other prophets were called to their office Muḥammad was a prophet even before he was born, and from infancy had been a worshipper of Allah alone. Muḥammad himself made no such claim, and even tells of how in his earlier days he had brought a white ewe as a sacrifice to the Meccan goddess al-'Uzzā, condoning it by the explanation that at that time he was following the religion of his people (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III,664). He also named one of his sons 'Abd Manāf after one of the idols in the Ka'ba (Pseudo-Balkhī, IV,130), tells how he and his first wife Khadīja used to perform nightly a certain act of pagan worship (*Musnad* Aḥmad, IV,222), and how he once invited the Ḥanīf Zaid b. Aslam to eat with him of meat offered to idols (*Ibid.*, I,189).

heaven; then the third steed, viz. the wings of angels [which carried him up] from one heaven to another even to the seventh heaven; then the fourth steed, viz. Gabriel's own wing [which bore him] to the Sidrat al-Muntahā, where Gabriel—upon whom be peace—had to remain behind. Said [Muḥammad]: "O Gabriel, this night we are your guests. How should the host remain behind [leaving] his guests ? Is it here that the friend leaves his friend ?" He replied: "O Muḥammad, thou art the guest of the Noble One. [Thou art] the one who has been summoned by the Ancient of Days (1). Were I now to advance a finger-tip's distance I should be burned up. There is no one of us [angels] but has a recognized station *(maqām)* (2). Said he: "O Gabriel, if that is so have your any particular need?" "Yes", he answered, "when thou art taken to the Beloved One, to the place where there are no longer any boundaries, and the word comes to thee: 'Here thou art and here am I', pray remember me before thy Lord".

Then Gabriel—upon whom be peace—shot him swiftly up so that he pierced through seventy thousand veils of light (3). Then there met him his fifth steed, the *rafraf* of green light, [so large that] it blocked up all between East and West (4). On this he

(1) This title from Dan. VII,13,22 renders well the significance of the Arabic *al-qadīm*, "he who is from of old", the title used to indicate that Allah was pre-existent to all things and was already existing before any days we can number.

(2) Islam recognizes that there is a hierarchical organization of the celestial hosts, and though we do not find in Muslim literature any elaborate accounts of this organization it is apparent that it was regarded as quite as rigidly fixed as that described by the Pseudo-Dionysius in his *De coeleslia hierarchia*, every member having his appointed station and service beyond which he may not venture.

(3) In Exod. XXXIII,20 God tells Moses that no one can look on Him and live, and in I Tim.VI,16 we read of God dwelling in a light that no man may approach unto, so it is not remarkable to find in Rabbinic, early Christian, Samaritan, Gnostic and Mandaean texts this notion of veils of light which curtain off the Divine Presence. Various numbers are given in early texts, where we read of one, two, three, four, seven, ten or seventy veils, but the figure of seventy thousand appealed to the mystics and is the commonest number in Ṣūfī texts. This number may be of Neoplatonic origin. See al-Ghazzālī's *Mishkāt al-Anwār*, p. 2 and as-Suyūṭī, *La'ālī*, I,8,9.

(4) The word *rafraf* occurs in Sūra LV,76, where it is usually taken to signify "green cushions" (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXVII,95), *rafraf* being the name of a thin brocade much used for elegant cushions. The verb *rafrafa*, however, means "to flutter like a bird", so it is easy to see how the word came to be used for the

rode till finally he came to the Throne. The Throne caught it by its fringes, and with the tongue of its circumstance called to him, saying: "O Muḥammad, how long wilt thou drink of the pure wine of thy moment safe from the dregs thereof ? At one time thy Beloved feels a yearning for thee and descends to the lowest heaven (1). At another He has thee taken around on [the wings of] the companion of His Presence (2) and borne up on the *rafraf* of His compassion *(ra'fa)*. "Glory be to Him Who took His servant by night" (XVII,1). At one time He shows thee the beauty of His Oneness, "the heart did not falsify what it saw" (LIII,11), and at another He shows thee the beauty of His eternal nature, "the gaze went not to one side nor did it go beyond" (LIII,17). At one time He lets thee look at the mysteries of His kingdom, "and He revealed to His servant what He revealed" (LIII,10), at another He draws thee close to the nearness of His Presence, "so He was at a distance of two bows' length or nearer" (LIII,9).

O Muḥammad, this is a moment both thirsted for, and grieved for, and perplexed about, for I do not know from which direction I shall go to Him. He has made me the greatest thing He has created, and I was the mightiest among them and the one that feared Him most. O Muḥammad, He created me, and on the day He created me I was trembling with fear at the awesomness of His majesty. Then He wrote upon my legs "there is no deity save Allah", whereat my trembling and my panic increased because of the awesomeness of His names. Then when He wrote upon me, "Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah", my agitation was quieted because of that and my fear assuaged. Thus did thy name give security to my heart, tranquillity to my secret self, and charmed away my disquietude. This was

kind of magic carpet on which Muḥammad made the last stage of his ascension. See as-Suyūṭī, *La'ālī* I,39,40 and at-Tirmidhī al-Ḥakīm quoted in Ibn Makhlūf, *'Ulūm*, I,292.

(1) The reference is to LIII,8,9. Ibn al-'Arabī is here placing himself on the side of those who consider the experience described in LIII,1-18 as regarded by Muḥammad as a theophany in which he saw not Gabriel but Allah Himself appearing on the horizon. See R. Bell, *Introduction to the Qur'ān*, p. 31, and *supra*, p. 137, n. 2.

(2) He means Gabriel who had carried the Prophet up for the previous stage of his journey.

the blessing thy name conferred on me, so what will it be when it is my fortune to see thy beauty? O Muḥammad, thou art the one sent as a mercy to mankind (XXI,107), so needs must there be some portion of good fortune for me this night. Yea, indeed! may my portion be that thou shouldst bear testimony on my behalf, to gain me immunity from Hell-fire, [testifying] against what lying persons attribute to me, and deluded men say of me. For people have gone far astray and erred concerning me, saying that I am wider than the One Who has no limits, that I bear Him who has no shape, that I encompass One Who has no mode of being. O Muḥammad, how could One Whose essence has no boundaries, and Whose attributes are beyond number, be said either to be separated from me or borne by me ? If His name is the Merciful, and His taking His seat one of His attributes and qualities, and His attributes and qualities are connected with His essence, how could He be either attached to me or separated from me, seeing I am not from Him and He is not from me ? O Muḥammad, by His might [I swear], I am not near enough to Him to be in touch, nor yet far enough away from Him to be separated. I have not the ability to bear Him, nor am I inclusive enough to encompass Him or provide a similitude for Him. Nay, indeed, it was He, in His mercy, Who brought me into existence, as a favour and a kindness. Were He to annihilate me that would be but kindness and justice on His part. O Muḥammad, I am something borne by His power, formed by His wisdom, so how could it be true that the Bearer is borne ? So do not believe that about which thou hast no knowledge. Truly, hearing and seeing and having a heart are all matters about which in His case there is much questioning."

Then he—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—with his tongue of circumstance made answer. "O Throne, I am indebted to you, but there is One Who now distracts me from you, so do not make my pure stream turbid for me, and do not disorder for me my detachment. There is no time just now for your complaint nor place for your address". Thus he—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—did not let his eye wander from Him even for the twinkling of an eye, nor did he

recite a single letter of the lines that had been revealed to him, "the gaze did not go aside" (LIII,17). Then there came forward the sixth steed, viz. the *Ta'yīd* (1), and though he saw nothing there came a voice calling from above him: "Thy Guardian is before thee, Here thou art with thy Lord".

Said [Muḥammad]: "There I remained, so amazed I knew not what I should say, nor could I comprehend what I should do, when there fell on my lips a drop sweeter than honey, colder than snow, softer than butter, more odiferous than the scent of musk. Thereby I became more knowing than all the Prophets and Apostles, and there came running on to my tongue blessed expressions of reverence to Allah, and excellent ascriptions of praise". He replied: "Peace be upon thee, O Prophet, and the mercy and the blessing of Allah", but I caused my brethren the Prophets to share in what had been given specially to me, so I replied: "May peace be upon us, and upon Allah's servants the righteous *(aṣ-ṣāliḥūn)*", by whom I meant the Prophets—on whom be blessings and peace. This was the reason why, on the night when the Apostle of Allah—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—was taken on his Night Journey, it was said to Abū Bakr: "He has seen his Lord?", and he answered: "He has but spoken the truth. I was there clinging on to his fringes and sharing with him in what he said". Someone asked: "And how was that?" He replied: "It is in his words: 'May peace be upon us'".

Then [each of] the angels answered, saying: "I testify that there is no deity save Allah, and that Muḥammad is His messenger". Said [Muḥammad]:"Then a call came to me: 'Give ear, O Muḥammad', so I drew near and stood still". That is the meaning of His words—mighty and majestic is He—' then He drew near and descended" (LIII,8). It is said that Muḥammad drew near at the request, and then He descended, and thus he approached close to the Lord—mighty and majestic is He. Others say he drew near by making intercession, and was brought

(1) *ta'yīd* "confirmation" is the verbal noun from *ayyada* "to strenthen, to aid", i. e. to make firm against assault, and so here to assure the Prophet that all was right, however extraordinary the experience might be.

close to the Lord by His response. Yet others say that he drew near by service and was brought close to the Lord by mercy. "Then He drew near and descended" (LIII,8). Its meaning is that Muḥammad drew near to his Lord. He drew near to [Allah's] graciousness, and mercifulness and compassionateness descended to him. [Allah] is not to be described as One Who crosses deserts or goes on journeys. [In regard to Him] the "whither" *(aina)* has departed from the "between" *(baina)* (1), the "how" has been abolished (2) and the "where" has dwindled away. Yet "he was at a distance of two bows' length" (LIII, 9). Had He stopped at two bows' length it would have been inferred that there was a place where the Lord was, and the only reason for His saying: "or nearer" was to negate [the idea that He was in a] place. Yet He was there with him though for Him there is no such thing as place or time or period or states of being.

Then came the call: "O Muḥammad, approach!". Said he: "O Lord, since [with Thee] there is no "where", where am I to set my foot?" He replied: "Set foot on that which was pre-existent, so that all may know that I am far removed from time and place and states of being, from night as well as from day, from boundaries and countries, from that which is limited and that which is measured. O Muḥammad, look!" So he loked and saw a gleaming light. He said: "What is this light?" The answer came: "This is not a light, it is the garden al-Firdaus (3). When thou didst ascend [these gardens] came along to be the place to receive thy feet, and what is beneath thy feet is a redemption for thy feet. O Muḥammad, the sole of thy foot

(1) See p. 145, n. 2.

(2) *kaifa* means "how" and Ibn al-'Arabī is thinking here of the dictum of the theologians that in the case of Allah the revealed facts that He sees, hears, speaks, etc., are to be accepted in faith without asking how, *(bi-lā kaif)*. See on this al-Ash'arī, *Ibāna*, p. 9; al-Baijūrī, *Jawhara*, p. 53; as-Sanūsī, *Muqaddima*, pp. 134,135; Gardet et Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, p. 116.

(3) Firdaus is a singular formed from *farādīs* "gardens", a word borrowed from the Greek, which itself got the word from the old Iranian term for the royal gardens. In Greek it came to have the meaning "Paradise" and is used in Arabic both for the gardens of Paradise as a whole and for the highest stage therein.

puts an end to the surmises of [all] creatures (1). O Muḥammad, so long as thou wert journeying in the "where" *(aina)* Gabriel was thy guide, Burāq was thy steed, but when place passed away and thou wert hidden from states of being, when there was no "where" *(aina)* and when "between" *(baina)* was removed from "between" *(baina)*, so that nothing remained but "at a distance of two bows' length" it came about that it is I Who am now thy guide. O Muḥammad, I open the gate for thee, and for thee I raise the veil. I shall make thee hear most pleasant discourse in the world of the unseen. Thou hast declared My unity in the world where witness is borne, having taken its truth on faith, so now bear witness after having seen it with the vision of the eyes".

Said [Muḥammad]: "I take refuge with Thy pardon from Thy punishment", but the word came: "That is for the disobedient of thy community [to say]. That is not a proper statement for one who summons men to My unity". So he said: "I do not understand how to form praises *(thanā')* for Thee. Thou art as Thou hast praised Thyself". Said He: "O Muḥammad, if thy tongue lacks expressions I shall assuredly clothe it with the tongue of veracity *(lisān aṣ-ṣidq)* (2): "and he speaks not from desire" (LIII,3), and if thy sight has to deviate from the sign I shall assuredly place on thee the cloak of guidance: "the gaze did not go beyond, nor did it move aside" (LIII,17). Then I shall also assuredly lend thee a light whereby thou mayest see My beauty and a hearing whereby thou mayest hearken to what I say. Then by the tongue of circumstance I shall cause thee

(1) *awḥām* also means "suspicions, doubts", and here doubtless refers to the arguments of the rationalists who denied that Paradise and Hell are already created. The Mu'tazilites, and some of the Jahmites, for example, taught that they would not be created till they were needed on Judgment Day. See *Fiqh akbar I*, p. 28 and an-Nasafī, *Baḥr al-Kalām*, p. 82.

(2) *lisān ṣidq* is twice used in the Qur'ān in connection with prophets, but apparently means there an assured reputation. In Sūra XIX,50/51 Allah says that He gave such to both Isaac and Jacob, and in XXVI,84 Abraham prays that he may have it among peoples of a later day. Here, however, Ibn al-'Arabī would seem to be using it to mean that Allah promises Muḥammad that he will be able to set forth his message in such a way as to make it carry conviction of its veracity.

to understand the meaning of thy mounting up to Me, and the wisdom of thy seeing Me".

Thus it was as though He spoke like one giving advice. "O Muḥammad, I have sent thee as a witness, a bearer of good tidings, a warner (XXXIII, 45/44) (1). Now what is demanded of a witness is truthfulness about that to which he bears witness, and it is not permissible for him to bear witness to something he has not seen, so I shall show thee My Paradise that thou mayest see what I have prepared for My friends, and I shall show thee My Hell that thou mayest see what I have prepared for My enemies. Thus shall I have thee witness My majesty, and uncover for thee My beauty, that thou mayest know that I in My perfection am far removed from anything [which may be called] similar, or like, or other than, or corresponding to, or resembling, from anything which has limit and measure, from anything which may be counted or numbered, from anything which may be joined or set asunder, which may be brought together or put apart, which may be given a likeness or a form, from anything with which one may sit in company or touch, from which one may depart or to which one may cling. O Muḥammad, I created My creatures and summoned them to Myself, but they differed among themselves with regard to Me. One group among them claimed that Ezra was My son (IX,30), and that My hand is fettered (V,64/69) (2). These are the Jews.

(1) These titles are all given again to Muḥammad in Sūra XLVIII,8, and the titles *mubashshir* "bringer of good tidings" and *nadhīr* "warner" are given him not infrequently in the Qur'ān. Both these latter are said to have been terms used by the caravan people of Arabia, among whom a *mubashshir* was the man who went head to announce the good news of a successful caravan safely arriving, while a *nadhīr* went ahead to give the bad news of a caravan which had met with disaster.

(2) If, as is generally held, the 'Uzair of Sūra IX,30 is the Biblical Ezra, it would seem that the Jews with whom Muḥammad was in contact made so much of Ezra the scribe, as the restorer of the Law (See IV Ezra, XIV), that he got the impression that the Jews reverenced Ezra in the same way as the Christians reverenced Jesus. No Jewish group known to history ever called Ezra a son of God, so some have thought that the Qur'ānic 'Uzair must be someone other than Ezra (see on this Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, pp. 127,128, and B. Heller in *Revue des Études Juives* for 1904, p. 207 ff.). That the Jews thought God's hand was fettered doubtless refers to what Muḥammad had heard of Rabbinic discussions on binding and loosing, in the sense referred to by Jesus in the Gospels (Matt.

Another group claimed that the Messish is My son (IX,30), that I have a wife and child. These are the Christians (1). Another group gave Me partners. They are the idolators (2). Another group gave Me a form. They are the corporealists (3). Another group made Me limited. They are the Mushabbiha (4). Another made Me non-existent. They are le Mu'aṭṭila (5). And there is another group who claim that I shall not be seen in the hereafter. They are the Mu'tazilites (6).

XVI,19; XVIII,18. Cf. Dalman, *The Words* of Jesus, pp. 213-215), and which Muḥammad resented as being a claim by humans that they could fetter the hands of the Almighty.

(1) Every Christian group Muḥammad could have met in the Arabia of his day would have taught that Jesus is the Son of God, but that he should have thought they believed Mary to have been the wife of God is in all probability an inference from the title « Mother of God », for the controversy over Θεοτόκος as against Χριστοτόκος was apparently still lively among Eastern Christians in the seventh century. Sūra V,116 is clear evidence that Muḥammad thought the Christians regarded Mary as a deity.

(2) The word used here for "partners" is *shurakā'*, and in the Qur'ān the polytheists are constantly referred to as those who give *shurakā'* to Allah. See X,66/67; XIII,16/17; XXXIV,27/26; XLII,21/20. The word he uses for "idolators", *wathaniya* is formed from *wathan*, an idol, a word used in the Qur'ān (XXII,31/30; XXIX,17/16, 25/24) and found in the South Arabian inscriptions, (Conti Rossini, *Glossarium*, p. 142).

(3) The *Mujassima* were those who regarded the deity as having a bodily form, and were anthropomorphists inasmuch as they pictured Him acting as humans act. On them see al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, pp. 207 ff.; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bain al-Firaq*, (éd. al-Kawtharī), p. 142; al Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, II,13-15; an-Nasafī, *Baḥr al-Kalām*, p. 20; D. B. Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, pp. 191, 291.

(4) The *Mushabbiha* or assimilationists were those who assimilated the deity to physical things, e.g. there were those who said He was light. On them see an-Nasafī, *Baḥr al-Kalām*, pp. 20-22 ; al-Baghdādī, *Farq*, pp. 138,140 ; al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, p. 564; al-Isfarā'inī, *Tabṣira*, p. 70; ar-Rāzī, *I'tiqādāt*, pp. 63,66; Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 191.

(5) The *Mu'aṭṭila* or destituters, were those who were so afraid of falling into the error of the *Mushabbiha* or the *Mujassima* that they refused to predicate anything of Allah, which was tantamount to making Him nothing. On them see an-Nasafī, *Baḥr al-Kalām*, p. 19; al-Malaṭī, *al-Tanbīh wa'r-Radd* (éd. al-Kawtharī), pp. 90,93; ash-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa'n-Nihal*, pp. 64,147.

(6) The Mu'tazilites were the rationalists who, under the influence of what the Muslims had learned of Greek philosophy, tried to work out a rational system of theology. A great deal of al-Ash'arī's *Maqālāt* is devoted to explaining the views of various groups among these rationalists. On them see H. S. Nyberg's article in *Ency. Islam*, III,787 ff.; D. B. Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, by Index. The most interesting thing in this passage of Ibn al-'Arabī is that Allah is pictured as foretelling to Muḥammad during his Ascension all these heretical teachings which were later to develop in Islam.

Here I am, however, and I have opened for thee My gate. I have raised for thee My veil, so look, O My beloved, O Muḥammad. Dost thou find in Me a single thing of that which they attribute to Me?" Then he—upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace—looked upon Him by means of that light whereby He strengthened him and with which He assisted him, yet without his really perceiving Him or comprehending Him Who is solitary, Who is eternal, Who is not in anything nor on anything, Who is neither sustained by anything nor has need of anything, Who has no shape nor likeness, no form nor body, Who cannot be drawn or shaped or borne on anything, for "there is nothing like Him" though "He is One Who hears, One Who sees" (XLII, 11/9). So when [Muḥammad] spoke with Him mouth to mouth, and saw Him face to face, then He said: "O My beloved, O Muḥammad, needs must there be for these creatures a mystery which is not revealed, and a time that is not divulged", so: "He revealed to His servant what He revealed' (LIII,10), which was a mystery from a mystery in a mystery.

Allahumma! send blessings and peace upon that noblest of all Thou hast created, our Master and our Lord, Muḥammad, the sea of Thy light, the mine full of Thy secrets, the tongue of Thy demonstration, the leader from Thy presence, the bridegroom of Thy kingdom, the embroiderer of Thy property, the treasure-store of Thy mercy, the way of Thy law, the lamp of Thy garden, the fountain of Thy truth. He is the one who had the enjoyment of seeing Thee, the eye of the eyes of Thy creation, the one who has been lit from the light of Thy brightness. Give him such blessing that thereby my knots may be unloosed, my griefs assuaged, my desires fulfilled, my wishes met. May he be a blessing as enduring as Thou art, as continous as Thou art, established in Thy essence, a blessing such as will be satisfying to Thee and well-pleasing to him, and whereby Thou wilt be well-pleased with us, O Lord of mankind.

Arthur JEFFERY.

The Editors of Studia Islamica *announce with regret the death in South Milford, Nova Scotia, on 2nd August 1959 of Professor Arthur Jeffery, author of the preceding paper.*

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